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ART. I. *Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fiſheries, and Navigation, with brief Notices of the Arts and Sciences connected with them; containing the Commercial Tranſactions of the Britiſh Empire and other Countries, from the earlieſt Accounts to the Meeting of the Union-Parliament in January* 1801, &c. &c. &c. By David Macpherſon. 4 vol. 4to. Edinburgh, 1805. Mundell & Son, &c.

THERE are few books of reference, whoſe utility has been more generally acknowledged, than that of Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce; and perhaps, ſince its firſt appearance, there has not been a ſingle writer on any tract of modern hiſtory, who has not been led to conſult it, and to derive from it ſome part of his materials. The author, who, during forty years of a long life, had been employed in the ſervice of the South-Sea Company, poſſeſſed the means of becoming intimately acquainted with the moſt complicated commercial concerns of the Britiſh empire during that period; and his private ſtudies being naturally directed to the ſubjects of his daily occupation, he gradually collected the moſt extenſive and valuable ſtore of materials that books could furniſh for the economical hiſtory of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries. But this elaborate work extended only to the year 1760; for which reaſon it was thought adviſeable, ſome years ago, to publiſh a ſecond edition, with a continuation, the merits of which it is not neceſſary for us to diſcuſs. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, that, by a conſtant adherence to this plan, the records of our commerce would have ſhortly become as voluminous as thoſe of our Parliamentary proceedings, and that a trader of the nineteenth century, who ſhould have been deſirous of learning the hiſtory of his predeceſſors, muſt have ſacrificed no ſmall portion of his time and capital in the acquiſition of ſuch information.

We therefore apprehend, that it was become very neceſſary to undertake a reviſion of the whole work; to prune whatever was redundant; to bring together, under the form of tables, much ſcattered information reſpecting the prices of commodities and the value of coins; to ſubſtitute, in ſome places, the language of our preſent political economy for the obſolete jargon of the old commercial ſyſtem; and, above all, to reform the numerous errors in the ancient hiſtory, which had been apparently compiled from very incorrect tranſlations, without any reference to original authorities. There are few editors, perhaps, who would not have been appalled by the labour of ſuch a reviſion; yet it has been undertaken and completed by Mr Macpherſon, to whom the learned world has been already indebted for a moſt valuable edition of Wyntown's Chronicle, and for his Geographical Illuſtrations of Scottiſh Hiſtory, and whoſe well-earned reputation for ſcrupulous fidelity cannot fail to excite a favourable prepoſſeſſion in the mind of the reader.

The work, in its preſent form, conſiſts of four large and cloſely printed quarto volumes, the firſt of which, comprehending the hiſtory of commerce from the earlieſt times to the diſcovery of America in 1492, is entirely written by the preſent editor. The ſecond, with about one half of the third, compriſing the interval between that period and the year 1760, is a republication of Mr Anderſon's text, with the retrenchment of ſome ſuperfluities, and the inſertion of ſome omiſſions: and the remainder of the work, extending to the firſt meeting of the Union-Parliament, is compoſed by Mr Macpherſon, principally from documents preſerved in the various public offices, which he ſeems to have ranſacked and ſcrutinized with ſuch indefatigable patience as the moſt ardent zeal for the intereſts of commerce could alone inſpire.

It muſt be obvious, that the analyſis of ſuch a hiſtory, if it were poſſible, would be wholly unintereſting; for who will read the abſtract of a dictionary? It is true, that the ſucceſſive articles of information are not diſpoſed under the ſucceſſive letters of the alphabet; but a ſtrict chronological ſeries, combined with abrupt geographical tranſitions, produces the ſame effect; and the ſeparate facts are moſt effectually disjoined from thoſe which precede or follow them. Here, therefore, is no unity of intereſt, no ſubordination of events, no room for delineations of character, nor for the artifices and ornaments of hiſtorical compoſition. The judgement, and even the taſte of the writer, can only be evinced by his ſucceſs in conveying information through the medium of the ſmalleſt poſſible number of words; not only when he is narrating facts, but alſo when he is diſcuſſing their authenticity, or that of their dates, or when he is examining the comparative exactneſs

actneſs and credibility of the original authors, to whom he muſt refer his readers for a more ample elucidation of his ſtatements, it is his duty to be conciſe, ſententious, and even dry; becauſe, however ready we may be to give up the reins of our imagination to thoſe who are willing to amuſe us by a connected narrative, we are impatient of any obſtacle to the gratification of our accidental inquiries; and few men can bear a tedious anſwer to a ſhort queſtion. It therefore only remains for us to enable our readers, by means of a few extracts, to eſtimate the merit of Mr Macpherſon's labours: with reſpect to Mr Anderſon's original work, the opinion of the public is already ſettled.

As a firſt example of our author's manner, both in the text and notes, we will take his account of the great naval expedition of the Carthaginians, which he places about 500 years A. C.

'We learn from Strabo (L. iii. p. 265.) that the Phœnicians of Gadir (Cadiz) were the firſt who traded to the Caſſiterides, and that they carefully concealed the route to them from all other navigators. It follows, of courſe, that theſe iſlands were unknown to the Carthaginians, for at leaſt ſome time. The Carthaginians, vexed to ſee themſelves outdone in any point of commercial knowledge or enterprize, deſirous of ſharing in the advantageous trade of the Caſſiterides, and eager to diſcover the whole extent of the world, ordered two voyages of diſcovery to be undertaken at the ſame time. They ſeem to have known nothing of the ſituation of the country they wiſhed to find, except that it was beyond the ſtraits in the ocean; but as all iſlands, acceſſible to the ancient navigators, muſt have been in ſight of other lands, they concluded, that by exploring the coaſt of the ocean both northward and ſouthward, it muſt certainly be diſcovered. Therefore, they ordered Himilco to direct his courſe northward from the ſtraits, and Hanno to purſue the oppoſite courſe along the weſtern ſhore of Africa. Both commanders executed their orders; and both publiſhed accounts of their diſcoveries. That of Himilco was extant in the fifth century, when ſome extracts of it were inſerted in a geographical poem by Rufus Feſtus Avienus; from which we learn, that he arrived in leſs than four months at the iſlands of the Oeſtrymnides, (which were two days ſail from the large ſacred iſland inhabited by the *Hibernians*, near to which was the iſland of the *Albions*), where they found copious mines of tin and lead, and a high-ſpirited and commercial people, who uſed boats covered with leather. This deſcription, though the poſition of the iſlands is deſcribed in a manner remarkably obſcure, anſwers to no other country ſo well as our *Britiſh Iſlands;* and it is extremely probable, that Himilco eſtabliſhed a Carthaginian colony, and ſettled the firſt commercial intercourſe between Britain and Carthage. *

* Dionyſius Periegetes, (*v.* 563.) deſcribes the iſlands of the Heſperides (which he ſeemingly places near to Britain) as 'the native country

'The object of Hanno's voyage being to make diſcoveries, and eſtabliſh colonies on the weſt coaſt of Africa, 30,000 people embarked with him in 60 ſhips of 50 oars each. * On various parts of the coaſt he founded at leaſt ſeven towns, or trading ports, whereof the furtheſt, reckoned as many days courſe beyond the ſtraits as Carthage was within them, was on a ſmall iſland lying in a bay, to which he gave the name of Kerné (or Cerné), and apparently that which is now called Mogadore. † From Kerné, Hanno proceeded ſouthward along the coaſt

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country of tin, inhabited by the wealthy ſons (or deſcendants) of the illuſtrious Iberians,' who were apparently the people deſcribed by Skylax and Avienus as living near Gadir, beſide the leſſer river Iberus, now Rio Tinto, in Andaluſia. From the ancient Iberians, Tacitus conjectures the Silures (the old inhabitants of South Wales) to be deſcended. (*Vit. Agric. c.* ii.) The chief iſland of the cluſter near the ſouth-weſt extremity of Britain, is called Sigdelis in Antonine's Maritime Itinerary, Silura by Solinus, (*c.* 24.) Sillinæ by Sulpicius Severus, (*L. ii.*) and is now called Silley. Avienus ſays, (*Ora maritima, v.* 113.) that the Tarteſians (ſo he calls the people of Gadir) were accuſtomed to trade to the Oeſtrymnides; and he then adds, that the huſbandmen or planters (*coloni*) and people of Carthage alſo went to them, which ſeems to infer the eſtabliſhment of a permanent colony. It appears extremely probable, that Heſperides, Oeſtrymnides, and Caſſiterides, are but different names of the ſame cluſter of iſlands, the chief one of which got the name of Silura, Silleni, or Silley, which name now comprehends the whole: and, if ſo, Avienus perfectly agrees with Strabo, who ſays, that the firſt voyages were made to theſe iſlands from Gadir.

* Of Hanno's voyage, we have only a Greek tranſlation, or rather abridgement. We may therefore ſuſpect the number of people to be erroneous, as it is not probable that ſo many would embark before the coaſt was explored, the ſtations for the new coloniſts choſen, and the plan of the emigration and ſettlement duly arranged.

† Polybius, who ſailed along the coaſt, deſcribes Kerné (*ap. Plin. L. vi. c.* 31.) as oppoſite to Mount Atlas, and about a mile from the main land; and with him Ptolemy nearly agrees, who plainly places Kerné north from the Fortunate Iſlands or Canaries. Theſe marks, and the conſideration, that the Carthaginians would probably not make as much *real* diſtance on an unknown as on a known coaſt, may almoſt fix the much conteſted poſition of Kerné, which can anſwer to no other place ſo well as the little iſland of Mogadore, the harbour of which is a ſmall bay between it and the coaſt of Morocco. It is wonderful, that men of learning, with the clear evidence of Polybius and Ptolemy, and ſome other ancient authors before their eyes, ſhould let their fancy run ſo wild, as to take the conſiderable iſland of St Thomas, almoſt under the equinoctial line, or Madeira, alſo an iſland of ſome extent, and too far from the coaſt to be reached by the ancient navigators, or even the vaſt

coaſt inhabited by the negroes for twenty-ſix days; during which, according to the computation of a day's courſe by Herodotus, he may have run 1820 miles, or 1300 as Skylax calculates the courſe. In his way, he diſcovered ſome iſlands, two days courſe from the Continent, called Gorillas by Hanno's interpreters, and, by later writers, Gorgadas, and apparently the ſame which have been alſo called the Heſperides, the Fortunate iſlands, and the Canaries, * being the only iſlands of any conſequence viſible from the main iſland of Africa.' p. 52, 53, 54.

As the ſubject of ancient commerce had hitherto been very ſuperficially treated, Mr Macpherſon is compelled, in almoſt every page of his firſt volume, to compare the reports of the ancient writers, obſcured as they are by a vague and imperfect geography, with the more accurate relations of modern travellers, and thus to eſtabliſh, one by one, the links of a chain of facts which it is not always poſſible to connect. Hence, we often find a ſingle note, or a few ſentences of text, which are evidently the reſult of long and painful reſearch. Of this we might eaſily multiply inſtances from the remoter periods of the hiſtory; but we prefer the following quotations from the middle ages, becauſe they poſſeſs a more popular intereſt, and afford a few authentic documents derived from a ſource not often conſulted, on topics to which modern hiſtorians are, very wiſely, much more attentive than their predeceſſors. They occur under the year A. D. 500.

'The following particulars of the manners, manufactures, &c. of the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſlands beyond the limits of the Roman conqueſts, (to whom I have ſcarcely had an opportunity of paying any attention hitherto), are chiefly collected from the ancient biographers of the Saints, almoſt the only writers of the weſtern world in the dark ages, and brought together as throwing ſome glimmering of light upon the ſmall portion of arts, manufactures, trade, and navigation, exiſting in theſe remote regions about this time. †

'The Iriſh ſtill retained the cuſtom noted by Solinus, of adorning

vaſt iſland of Madagaſcar, on the *eaſt* ſide of Africa, for Kerné, a ſmall iſland of a few furlongs in circumference, on the *weſt* ſide of that Continent. But, unfortunately, men of great learning are ſometimes very bad geographers. In the year 1765, the Emperor of Morocco appointed Mogadore to be the port for the foreign trade of his dominions.

* Some modern authors ſuppoſe the Biſſago or Biſſao iſlands, near the Rio-Grande, and others, the iſland of St Thomas, to be the Gorillas.

† Patric flouriſhed from A. D. 432, the year of his miſſion, to 493; Brigit about 500; and Columba from 522 to 597. The lives here quoted were written very ſoon after their own time, and may be truſted in every thing but the miracles.

their ſwords and daggers with the poliſhed teeth of animals. (*Adamnani Vita Columbæ, MS. Bibl. Reg.* 8. *D. ix. L. iii. c.* 39.) The manufacture of ſwords and other weapons was, in very early times, practiſed in every part of the Britiſh iſlands.

'The luxury of riding in chariots was common in Britain and Ireland. (*Patricii Synod. can.* 9. *Cogitoſi Vita Brigitæ, ap. Meſſingham, ec.* 6, 7, 11. *Adamn. L. i. c.* 99; *L. ii. c.* 43.)

'A common article of dreſs was a cloak or plaid, (peplum, pallium, ſagum) adorned with a variety of coloure, which was probably of home manufacture. (*Adamn. L. iii. c.* 1.) They had fine linen, which, with other articles of ſumptuous dreſs, may be preſumed to have been imported. The bodies of the dead, at leaſt thoſe of eminent rank, were wrapped in fine linen. (*Patric. Synod. can.* 9. *Cogitos. c. ii. Adamn. L. iii. c.* 26.) Decency of dreſs was recommended to all, but particularly to clergymen and their *wives*. (*Patric. Synod. can.* 6.)

'In the churches and abbays there were bells, which the pious and induſtrious abbots ſometimes made with their own hands. (*Vita Gildæ, quoted in Uſſerii Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p.* 905. *Edit.* 1639. *Adamn. Lib. i. c. ii.; L. iii. c.* 23.)

'Water-mills were introduced in Britain by the Romans, as appears by the remains of a Roman mill lately diſcovered at Mancheſter. (*Whitaker's Hiſt. of Manch. p.* 315.); and, as they are frequently mentioned during the Saxon period, we may be aſſured, that an engine ſo very uſeful, and alſo of ſuch ſimple conſtruction, was never allowed to go out of uſe. About this time they were alſo uſed in Ireland. (*Cogitos. c.* 13.)

'Veſſels made of glaſs, for drinking out of, were uſed, even in the extremity of Britain, by the northern Pichts *; but whether they were manufactured by themſelves, or imported, we are not told. (*Adamn. Lib. ii. c.* 32.). We have reaſon to believe that the art of manufacturing glaſs was known, to the ſouthern Britons, before the invaſion of the Romans.

'Ale was a common drink, and made at home. Wine was alſo uſed upon ſome occaſions, and moſt probably imported. (*Cogitos. c.* 4.—*Adamn. L. ii. c.* 1.)

'The natives of Ireland, and the north-weſt coaſt of Britain, and the adjacent iſlands, caught ſalmon and other fiſh with nets, (*Adamn. L. ii. cc.* 17, 18. *L. iii. c.* 25.) But they knew nothing of the vaſt advantage to be derived from an extenſive fiſhery, and only caught fiſh for their own uſe.

'Though

* It is proper to obſerve, that Cumin, who died in the year 699, and was the original writer of the life of Columba, has not a word of the ſtory containing the notice of the drinking-glaſs. It is not known in what year Adamnan wrote his greatly enlarged copy of Cumin's life of Columba. The manufacture of glaſs was introduced among the Engliſh of Northumberland in the year 674.

'Though the leather boats of the Britons chiefly attracted the attention of foreigners, as being unuſual with them, we muſt not ſuppoſe they had no others. They certainly learned to build veſſels of wood while under the Roman dominion, if they had them not before. About this time, even in the remote Weſtern iſlands, they had long veſſels built of oak planks; and they all carried at leaſt one ſail. Some of the veſſels, covered with leather, were ſufficient to go long voyages; at leaſt as far as from Ireland to Orkney, and even to advance as far into the Northern Ocean as a run of fourteen days, with full ſail before a ſouth wind.* (*Adamn. L. i. c.* 1. *L. ii. cc.* 42, 45.)

'I may here alſo obſerve, that inſtruments and trinkets made of gold, ſome of them of conſiderable weight, were by no means uncommon in Ireland, as appears from the great numbers of them found in various parts of the country, though they probably belong to ages prior to any authentic hiſtory. † As civilized nations do not carry the precious metals to countries in an inferior ſtate of civilization, it ſeems more probable that the gold was found in mines, of which there are ſtill ſome veſtiges in Ireland, than that it was imported; though we ſhould even ſuppoſe with Tacitus, (*Vita Agric. c.* 24.) that Ireland had a greater foreign trade than Britain.'—Vol. I. p. 223, 224.

Such notices concerning the manners of ancient nations, however ſhort, are always intereſting to thoſe who wiſh to trace, in hiſtory, the progreſs of mankind towards improvement and civilization. For this reaſon, the following ſhort extract, (from Vol. I. p. 391.) reſpecting the manners of the Italians, about A. D. 1238, may be worth copying.

'Their food was very moderate, or rather ſcanty. The common people had meat only three times in a week: their dinner was pot-herbs, boiled with meat; their ſupper, the cold meat left from dinner. The huſband and wife ate out of the ſame diſh; and they had but one or two cups in the houſe. They had no candles made of tallow or wax; but a torch, held by one of the children, or a ſervant, gave them light at ſupper. Many had no wine in the ſummer. Their wine-cellars were ſmall; and their barns were not large. The men, whoſe chief pride was in

* It appears that ſome wrong-headed monks, either by ſtreſs of weather, or by deſign, (for the perfection of religion was ſuppoſed to conſiſt in rendering themſelves uſeleſs, by withdrawing from ſociety) had actually ſailed to Iceland, where they ſettled, it being moſt probably impoſſible for them to find their way back again; and their books, in the Iriſh language, bells, &c. were found there by the firſt coloniſts from Norway. (*Arii Schedæ de Iſlandia, c.* 2.)

† See *Archæologia Britann. V. ii. No.* 3. *V. iii. p.* 555. *Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibern. No. xiii.* One gold fibula of ten ounces, (repreſented in Plate vi. No. 2.) was ſold to a goldſmith, who informed Colonel Vallencey that he had melted down ſeveral of that form, one of which weighed ſixteen ounces.

their arms and horſes, wore caps made with iron-ſcales, and cloaks made of leather, without any covering, or of woollen cloth without leather. The women wore jackets, of a ſtuff called *pignolate*, with gowns of linen; and their head-dreſſes were very ſimple. Very few people had any gold or ſilver on their clothes. Thoſe who poſſeſſed a ſmall ſum of money were thought rich; and the homely dreſs of the women required but ſmall marriage-portions. The nobles were proud of living in towers; and thence the cities were filled with thoſe fortified dwellings. (*Riccobaldi Ferrarienſis, Hiſt. imper. ap. Muratori Script. V. v. col.* 128.)'

We ſhall now add another extract, for the ſake of its ſingularity. Every reader is acquainted with the numerous advantages derived to modern navigators from the invaluable invention of the mariner's compaſs; the want of which compelled the Phœnician, the Greek, and the early Italian navigators, to creep from headland to headland, without venturing to quit the ſhore, excepting when an iſland, ſo near as to be diſtinctly ſeen from the continent, offered them an equally ſecure retreat from the violence of an accidental tempeſt. Yet we know that the bolder Norwegians, though expoſed to far greater perils from the habitual inclemency of a high northern latitude, and from the frequent cloudineſs of their atmoſphere, were in the habit of attempting, and often with ſucceſs, a voyage of ſome length upon the ocean. It would be unjuſt to tax with temerity a ſpirit of enterprize which ſo often accompliſhed its object. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe that a patient obſervation of natural phenomena, attention to the flight of migratory birds, and to the direction of currents, and ſome few ſimple devices which, being no longer neceſſary, are now forgotten, muſt have ſerved as ſubſtitutes for the more valuable reſources of modern navigation. One of theſe devices is recorded by Mr Macpherſon in a note, vol. I. p. 261.

'Arngrim Jonas tells us, that when Flok, a famous Norwegian navigator, was going to ſet out from Shetland for Iceland, then called Gardarſholm, he took on board ſome crows, *becauſe the mariner's compaſs was not yet in uſe.* When he thought he had made a conſiderable part of his way, he threw up one of his crows, which, ſeeing land aſtern, flew to it; whence Flok, concluding that he was nearer to Shetland (perhaps rather Faroe) than any other land, kept on his courſe for ſome time, and then ſent out another crow, which, ſeeing no land at all, returned to the veſſel. At laſt, having run the greateſt part of his way, another crow was ſent out by him, which, ſeeing land ahead, immediately flew for it; and Flok, following his guide, fell in with the eaſt end of the iſland. Such was the ſimple mode of ſteering their courſe, practiſed by thoſe bold navigators of the ſtormy northern ocean. The ancient natives of Taprobané (Ceylon) uſed the ſame expedient when ſkimming along the tranquil ſurface of the Indian Ocean. (*Plinii Hiſt. Nat. Lib. vi. c.* 22.)'

We

We ſhall here take leave of the firſt volume; conceiving that the extracts already given are ſufficiently ample to anſwer our purpoſe, by exhibiting a fair ſpecimen of the author's manner. The third part, commencing with the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, and occupying 950 cloſely printed quarto pages, is, of courſe, far more intereſting to the ſtateſman, to the political economiſt, and even to the common reader; but as the facts which it contains are, in general, familiarly known, and are of neceſſity much compreſſed, very few of them would appear to advantage in the inſulated ſtate in which alone we could exhibit them. The following anecdote, however, (in vol. iv. p. 401.) is a ſtriking exception to this remark; it is perfectly new to us; and we ſincerely wiſh to give it all the publicity which it deſerves.

'1797. The manufacturing intereſt of Great Britain ſuſtained a very heavy, and (as it has ſince turned out) perhaps an irreparable loſs, in the death of Mr Stephen Dolignou, the ingenious inventor of a highly improved kind of weaving machinery, adapted to the manufacture of all kinds of ſtuffs, from the coarſeſt to the fineſt, and from the narroweſt to the broadeſt. The looms may be wrought by the power of wind, water, ſteam, weights, or animal ſtrength; and they differ from all other weaving machinery in poſſeſſing (if I may be allowed the phraſe) an inſtinctive capacity of knowing when any thread of the warp or weft is broken; in which caſe the loom, wherein ſuch an accident has happened, ceaſes its motion, whilſt the others, actuated by the ſame moving power, proceed in their work; thereby calling upon the perſon attending it to repair the damage, which being done, it immediately goes on as before. Six of theſe looms may with eaſe be attended by a girl of fifteen years of age, or by an infirm or aged perſon of either ſex.

'This invention poſſeſſes the important advantage over moſt other ſpecies of machinery for the abridgement of labour, that the general uſe of it can give no alarm to the people engaged in the manual fabrication of the goods which may be made by it, if the art is laid open to the public; for a weaver, who has been accuſtomed to work upon one loom, may, as the expenſe of the machinery is moderate, eaſily ſet up ſix looms, to be wrought by weights or other moving power, and immediately furniſh ſix times as much cloth at half the former price of weaving, and even three times as much as before. His increaſed profits may very ſoon enable him to ſet up ſix more, to be attended by his wife or his children; and ſo he may proceed till he is maſter of a great factory. Thus, the uſe of this machinery, inſtead of threatening them with loſs of employment, may, in the very firſt inſtance, be a bleſſing, and a fund of wealth to the Britiſh operative weavers, who need only ſuch aſſiſtance to counteract the enormous expenſe of living, to enable them to become the manufacturers for the whole world.

'This moſt uſeful invention, which crowns and completes what Arkwright's machinery began, would ere now have enabled the Britiſh manufacturer

nufacturer to bring cotton from its raw ſtate, as it dropt from the weighing engine, to a finiſhed web fit for immediate uſe, all by the agency of quick and cheap-working machinery, had the inventor been ſpared to eſtabliſh his works on a ſcale ſufficiently extenſive. But it pleaſed God to take him off (February 7th, 1797) ſoon after he had brought his machinery to a ſtate of perfection ſatisfactory to himſelf. And this friend of mankind, who, if he had flouriſhed in ancient times, would have been honoured with ſtatues and altars, and been ranked with Mercurius Triſmegiſtus, Minerva, Ceres, Melcartus, and other beneficent deities, now lies in a village church-yard (Benjes near Hertford), without an inſcription to record his merits, or even his name.'

A note in the ſame page conveys the following additional information.

'A relation, whom Mr Dolignou inſtructed, with a view to make him his partner and ſucceſſor in the buſineſs, underſtands the conſtruction and uſe of the machinery; and there are many young women, now diſperſed in ſervice or other employments, whom he taught to work on the looms. It is therefore not yet too late, for any who feel themſelves called upon by motives of patriotiſm, philanthropy, or intereſt, to act as the *guardians of Britiſh manufactures*, to produce beneficial and reputable employment to young women, or to improve their own fortunes by a moſt profitable branch of induſtry, to reſcue this orphan manufacture from annihilation, and to nurſe it up to maturity and ſtrength, with great benefit to themſelves, and incalculable advantages to the commerce, the wealth, and the power, of Great Britain.'

We have already had occaſion to obſerve, that the editor of ſuch a work as the preſent has few opportunities of recommending himſelf to his reader, otherwiſe than by patient induſtry of reſearch, and by minute accuracy of ſtatement; and indeed Mr Macpherſon has, in general, moſt ſtudiouſly avoided any deviation from the ſtrict duty of the annaliſt, confining himſelf to a mere relation of facts, and leaving his readers to draw from them ſuch inferences as they may think fit. But as the complicated commercial accounts of nations are uſually ſtated, like the ſimple tranſactions of common merchants, in the technical language of book-keeping, which, with great appearance of clearneſs in the ſeveral entries, is very apt to miſlead a novice in political arithmetic, the cautious editor is ſometimes compelled, though always with apparent reluctance, to detect and explain the various ſources of error. We ſhall quote an example from vol. III. p. 341. on the ſubject of the cuſtomhouſe accounts of the year 1760.

'It has been cuſtomary to conſider our trade with thoſe countries, from which we import a greater value than we export to them, as unprofitable; and that with thoſe, to which our exports exceed the value of our imports, as profitable. But ſuch a rule is liable to a great number

number of exceptions. The apparent balance muſt be frequently erroneous, from the inaccuracy of the valuation. For example, the Iriſh linens are all rated in the cuſtomhouſe entries in England at 8d. a yard on an average; whereas, 1s. 4d. a yard, the average price aſſumed in the Iriſh cuſtomhouſe books, is rather under the value. As linens generally conſtitute above a half of the value of the imports from Ireland to England and Scotland, the error in the value of that one article turns the balance of trade with Ireland againſt Great Britain: and the valuations in many other branches of our commerce are not a whit more accurate. Money brought into Great Britain is not ſubject to entry; and therefore does not appear in the cuſtomhouſe books, any more than bills of exchange. Money carried out ſwells the amount of export entries, * and conſequently enlarges the ſuppoſed general profit; though, according to the doctrine, that gold and ſilver are the only ſtandard of wealth, ſuch exportation is ſo much clear loſs to the nation. Great quantities of goods, ſubject to high duties, totally prohibited, or ſhipped for exportation upon bounties or drawbacks, are clandeſtinely imported. Such importations, though not appearing in the general account, there is reaſon to believe, have conſiderable influence on the exchange with ſome neighbouring countries. † And ſuch of thoſe ſmuggled goods as have been entered for exportation, perhaps over and over again, thus make great additions to the fallacious eſtimate of the profitable balance, without ever being in reality exported at all for foreign conſumption. All goods exported for the uſe of our armies abroad, are part of the national expenditure; and can no more conſtitute a real part of the profitable balance, apparently ſwelled by their exportation, than the goods taken from his ſtock by a manufacturer or ſhopkeeper for his own uſe, can be ſtated as enlarging his profitable ſales. Cargoes entered outward, which are loſt at ſea, or taken by the enemy, ſwell the amount of exports, and conſequently of ſuppoſed profit; whereas, in fact, they are a dead loſs to the nation, (and, in caſe of

* Till the year 1765, the gold and ſilver carried abroad were entered in the cuſtomhouſe books, as merchandize exported, under the title of foreign gold and bullion, (being 884,102l. 11s. 3d. for the year 1760), which, being foreign, muſt have been previouſly imported, though the cuſtomhouſe takes no cognizance of the importation. In extracting the accounts for the years 1760—1764, I have omitted this article, which, as it ſtands in the exports, appears to ſwell the favourable balance; whereas it is, in fact, the neceſſary payment of an unfavourable balance. In time of peace, the bullion which is exported goes, moſtly, to China.

† For example, can we ſuppoſe that England, this year, bought goods from France only to the amount of 37l., in return for goods to the amout of 209,946l.? Or, that Scotland took not one article in return for tobacco, &c. amounting to 341,871l., ſeeing that the commerce in tobacco was tolerated on both ſides?

of capture, tend to enrich the enemy by whom they are in reality exported), while the want of the homeward cargo, which ſhould have been imported in return, and which to the individual ſufferer, is not only a real loſs, but a heavy diſappointment and derangement of his plans of trade, tends to enlarge the ſuppoſed balance of trade in our favour. And the loſs or capture of homeward-bound ſhips, in the ſame manner, by diminiſhing the amount of entered imports, fallaciouſly adds to the apparent favourable balance.

'On the other hand, there are branches of trade which would be ruinous, if the imports did not exceed the exports, or, in other words, if the balance were not *unfavourable*, according to this ſtandard of eſtimation. Such is the trade with all our Weſt India ſettlements, which have been formed and ſupported by Britiſh capitals, and in a great meaſure owned by proprietors reſiding in Great Britain. Therefore, the outward cargoes are to be conſidered as the ſtock employed in the culture of the plantations; and the homeward cargoes are in fact the proceeds of that culture, the exceſs of which is not a loſs to the nation, but the real amount of the net profits coming into the pockets of the proprietors, and giving a very comfortable demonſtration how much the amount of the product is more than the prime coſt. In other words, the outward cargoes are the *ſeed*, and the inward cargoes are the *harveſt*. Neither is the balance, ſtated as due to the iſlands, remitted to them to increaſe their ſtock of circulating money. A part of it is paid, as intereſt or diſcharge of debts, to capitaliſts at home, to whom many of the plantations are deeply mortgaged. Another part (and, I hope, the largeſt) reſts with the proprietors, of whom a very conſiderable number are merchants reſiding in Great Britain, and many of the others alſo reſide in England, living on the balance of their plantation produce, which, if not entirely exhauſted in their expenditure, is laid out in purchaſes at home, or in improving the Weſt India plantations, and thus, in either way, adding to, and by no means deducting from, the national opulence.

'The ſame reaſoning will alſo hold good with the trade to Hudſon's Bay, and ſeveral others, wherein the exceſs of the imports is the real profit, and a continuation of *favourable* balances would in a few years ruin the trade. In ſome branches of buſineſs, the goods exported are merely the charges of trade, as is the caſe in all fiſheries. For example, if a large ſum appeared as the amount of goods carried to Greenland, and none at all brought from it, it is evident that the apparent favourable balance is a dead loſs, and that the adventurers, beſides the goods ſhipped, and entered as exported, loſe alſo the wages and proviſions of the ſeamen, and the wear and tear of their ſhips; whereas, in ſuch trades, the exceſs of the imports above the exports, (or, if any body pleaſes to call it ſo, the unfavourable balance), ſhews the amount of the national gain.

'There is another kind of deceptive inference to be drawn from the cuſtomhouſe entries, if not duly guarded againſt. It is neceſſary to

advert,

advert, that the exports to ſome countries conſtitute the prime coſt of cargoes to be ſhipped off from them to a third country. Thus, the wines of Madeira are ſent to the Britiſh ſettlements in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; and, even if intended for Britain, are often carried by the circuitous route of thoſe diſtant regions before they are brought home. The bulk of the cargoes from Africa, conſiſts of the miſerable natives, who are ſold in the Weſt Indies, and the proceeds are generally remitted to Great Britain in bills of exchange which do not appear at all in the cuſtomhouſe books; and, in like manner, moſt of the cargoes carried from Newfoundland and the adjacent countries, conſiſt of fiſh which never come to Great Britain, but are ſold in Spain, Portugal, and other Roman Catholic countries, and their proceeds alſo brought home in bills of exchange.

'Were we to eſtimate the proſperity of a country merely from the balance of trade in the cuſtomhouſe books, Scotland muſt be pronounced to be in a ruinous ſtate, ever ſince the American war; the imports from foreign countries being generally more than the exports to them; as will appear by the accounts to be found in the ſubſequent parts of this work. But the truth is, that, ſince that event, the people of Scotland have paid more attention than formerly to manufactures, which (by land-carriage and coaſting navigation, neither of which appear in the cuſtomhouſe books) are carried to every part of Great Britain, and enter to a much larger amount into the exports of London than into thoſe of Glaſgow: and that, upon the whole, the trade of Scotland is now more flouriſhing than ever.

'From what has been ſaid it will appear, that all arguments, calculations, or arrangements, founded upon the ſuppoſed balance of trade, are very fallacious; and that thoſe founded upon the balance with any particular country are generally much more fallacious than thoſe deduced from the general balance of the whole foreign trade of the nation.'

Our limits will not permit us to enter any further into a deſcription of this part of the work, becauſe the variety of its contents is almoſt infinite. We find in vol. 4. p. 525. *et ſeqq.* a review of the whole of our manufactures, as carried on in the year 1800; and in p. 537, a ſpecification of *all* the principal articles of merchandize which actually compoſed the trade of Great Britain, in that year, with all parts of the world, extracted from the proper books in the cuſtomhouſe; beſides which, ſeparate notices and anecdotes, relating to the progreſs of every branch of human induſtry, occur perpetually. 'Quicquid agunt homines' may fairly be conſidered as the ſubject of our author's repertory. We ſhall therefore now haſten to take notice of the appendix, reſerving our general remarks for the concluſion of the work.

This appendix conſiſts of four pieces, of which the firſt is a table divided into twelve columns, and preſenting, at one opening

ing of the book, the chronology of the principal ſovereigns of Europe, from the year 800 to the preſent time.

Nos. two and three are auxiliary tables, to aſſiſt us in calculating the depreciation of money from the Conqueſt to the year 1800; No. 2. expreſſing the quantity of fine ſilver contained in the pound Sterling at different periods, both in England and in Scotland, and No. 3. being a chronological table of the prices of coin and of various other articles, the authority for each being annexed to the prices quoted.

This table is, beyond compariſon, the fulleſt that we remember to have ſeen, and, by pointing out the ſources from which all its elements are derived, and thus enabling us to diſcover any error into which the copyiſt might inadvertently have fallen, is rendered doubly valuable. Yet we muſt doubt whether, as the author ſuppoſes, 'by a compariſon of theſe two tables, the real value of money, through all the ſtages of its diminution and depreciation, may be aſcertained with tolerable accuracy,' if we ſuppoſe, as he does, that the increaſe of taxes, in many articles, now conſtitutes the greateſt part of the price. For example, if we take an average of the price of wheat, during the four years 1771, 2, 3, 4, and compare it with a ſimilar average of the years 1796, 7, 8, 9, it will appear that wheat had riſen during the interval only in the proportion of 100 to 124 nearly; yet, ſuch was the progreſs of taxation during this period, that we ſhould perhaps be nearer the truth in ſuppoſing that the general expence of living had nearly doubled. The price of grain is, however, the beſt ſingle ſtandard to which we can appeal as a meaſure of the depreciation of money, though it ſhould ſeem that the progreſs of the national debt muſt enter as an important element into the calculation of the money-price of commodities of all kinds; both becauſe the large portions of the national capital lent to Government in time of war, and ſpent as income, muſt produce the ſame effect as a ſimilar augmentation of bullion; and becauſe the taxes raiſed to pay the intereſt, though ſome may operate as a ſtimulus to induſtry or to invention, and thus diminiſh inſtead of raiſing the price of particular articles, whilſt others may fall for a time on the grower inſtead of the conſumer, muſt ultimately raiſe the price of the taxed commodities, and thence gradually ſpread to thoſe which are untaxed. We therefore conceive that a ſhort table, exhibiting at one view the ſucceſſive augmentations of the public debt, might have been uſeful in this place for many purpoſes of reference.

The fourth number of the Appendix is entitled 'a commercial and manufactural gazetteer of the united kingdom of Great Britain

tain and Ireland,' occupying 53 cloſely printed pages in double column. A geographical ſketch of a ſomewhat ſimilar nature, but far leſs ably executed, is added, if our recollection do not deceive us, to the Dictionnaire de Commerce of M. Savary; but we do not remember to have ſeen any compilation of equal intereſt with the preſent, which ſeems to contain the lateſt, as well as the moſt correct deſcription extant of all the manufacturing towns in the united kingdom. We ſhall here ſubjoin two extracts from this gazetteer, which adds very conſiderably to the utility of the work.

'Carron-works (*Stirlingshire, Scotland*).—The greateſt iron-works in Europe, conducted by the greateſt company ever aſſociated for carrying on a manufacture. For giving motion to the machinery of this vaſt eſtabliſhment, the company have the command of the whole force of the river Carron, which alſo brings their ore, coals, and other materials up to the works, and carries off the manufactured goods without any cartage. Cannon are caſt ſolid, and bored by drills turned by the river; and not only the Britiſh Government, but every power in Europe has been ſupplied with them. There is alſo a ſhorter kind of cannon, of a proportion between a great gun and a howitzer, invented in the year 1752, at the fort on Cove Iſland, in the harbour of Cork, by General Melville, firſt made here in 1779 by Mr Gaſcoigne, director of the works, and now well known over all the world by the name of carronades. Pipes, cylinders, boilers for ſugar-works, ballaſt for ſhips, ſtove-grates, which are now in almoſt every apartment of the Britiſh dominions where coal is burned; and, in general, every article that can be made of caſt-iron, are made in great perfection at theſe works. There are alſo forges for making anchors of all ſizes, anvils, and other heavy articles; machinery for making malleable iron and plating iron. Above 140 tons of coal are expended every day, and about 1000 men are employed in time of peace, but a much greater number in war. In the neighbourhood there is a large manufacture of nails; and ſeveral others, on ſmaller ſcales.'

'Fulneck (*York, W. R.*), a village inhabited entirely by Moravians, ſtands in a moſt romantic ſituation, on a ſloping bank facing the ſun, at the bottom of which there runs a pretty ſtream. The ſpace between the houſes and the brook is a continued garden, with cloth-tenters interſperſed. There is in the village a very elegant building, containing a chapel and ſchool-houſe, with lodging for the ſcholars. There are alſo two very ſingular inſtitutions, almoſt reſembling a monaſtery and a nunnery, called *the young mens' economy*, and *the young womens' economy*. No ſtrangers of the other ſex are admitted into either houſe; but the inhabitants may come out to converſe with their friends. They follow any buſineſs they chooſe, and may change their way of life when they pleaſe. The women are about ſixty in number, moſtly employed in embroidery and tambouring, and they all ſleep in one large room. The men,

men, who are about fifty, also sleep all in one room. There is also a house in which all the widows live together.'

The whole work is terminated by a general chronological index of 92 pages.

For the reasons which we have already stated, we shall abstain from making any remarks on the style and language of this book, which, though plain and unadorned, are, in general, remarkably perspicuous. But we must point out to Mr Macpherson one passage, in which the expression appears to us very awkward, and which, though not mentioned in the table of *errata*, has apparently been perverted by some mistake of the printer. It is in Vol. III. p. 355., where it is stated, that 'if a ship has sailed from any given point, where the sun was *in the zenith (or in his meridional altitude)*, and, next day, when the sun *is in the zenith*, it is found by a watch, which goes perfectly true, that it is four minutes after twelve, the ship has made one degree of difference of longitude to the westward,' &c. It certainly was not intended to restrict the proposition to tropical climates, where only the meridional sun can be in the zenith, so that the words '*on the meridian*' ought probably to be substituted for both the phrases marked in italics.

We must also express our disapprobation of the uncouth mode of spelling many common words. Why substitute there*for* for there*fore*, lat*er* for lat*ter*, t*un* for t*on*? To establish a *rational* orthography in English is apparently quite impossible, but it is easy to adopt that which is now fixed by custom, and no man can depart from it with impunity.

We have said that, in compiling these volumes, which were intended as a repertory of facts, the author has cautiously abstained from all matters of theory, reserving (perhaps) his observations and opinions for some future publication. But there is one opinion, or rather sentiment, which seems always present in his heart and mind, and which, at almost every page, drops spontaneously from his pen. This is a detestation of war, the parent of crimes and of calamities; a rooted dislike of all its instruments and agents; and a veneration for the peaceful benefactors of mankind, the Wedgewoods, the Arkwrights, the Watts, the Brindleys, &c. to whom he would willingly transfer those triumphs and dignities which are so frequently and so perversely bestowed on the sanguinary sons of ambition. Perhaps praise and blame might be more justly distributed by an assembly of calm philosophers than they now are by the giddy multidude; yet this multitude might possibly allege with some truth, in justification of its awards, that the ingenuity of the artist, and the skilful enterprise of the merchant, or even of the agriculturist,

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are beſt recompenſed by a communication of the wealth and proſperity which they have contributed to diſſeminate; and that honour, the prize for which life is daily ventured, is naturally the excluſive and appropriate reward of hardy intrepidity. It is true that this quality may be ſometimes coupled with the moſt odious vices,—with paltry cunning, with ſelfiſh ambition, and with malignant ferocity; and men thus endowed, and armed with power, may ravage the univerſe like a peſtilence: yet to this deſolating ſpirit may be oppoſed a ſaviour ſpirit of ſtill higher power, ſo long as ſuch a ſpirit ſhall be juſtly valued, ſo long as the rewards of enthuſiaſtic heroiſm ſhall not be beſtowed on inventive ingenuity. Theſe, and many ſimilar arguments might be urged in exculpation of the vulgar feelings of mankind on this ſubject, and might, perhaps, deſerve conſideration. But, be this as it may, we are very far from meaning to reprobate the favourite opinion of our venerable author, which, beſides that we believe it to flow from the genuine benevolence of his heart, muſt evidently have formed his principal inducement to undertake, and his chief encouragement to perſevere in a taſk, the completion of which required much ſevere labour, and has conſumed many years of a uſeful life. No literary work, we believe, can be well performed, which is not performed with ſome degree of conſcious ſatisfaction; and, as few things are leſs alluring in themſelves than arithmetical calculations and commercial documents, we are perſuaded that no motive but a firm conviction of the importance and moral utility of his undertaking could have induced the learned editor of Wyntown to compile the Annals of Commerce.

Upon the whole, we have no heſitation in ſaying, that Mr Macpherſon has, in our opinion, performed all that could be expected from an individual, and perhaps more than the public had a right to expect from him, becauſe it is ſcarcely poſſible that his readers ſhould be capable of appreciating the extent of his toil, with which therefore the increaſe of his reputation is not likely to be commenſurate. Numberleſs paſſages of the ancient hiſtorians, like certain problems in algebra, are ſuſceptible of an indefinite number of ſolutions; and on ſuch occaſions, it would be abſurd to ſay, that he has never laid himſelf open to criticiſm, even fair criticiſm,—or that he has never deceived himſelf: but the internal evidence of every page convinces us, that he never means to deceive his reader. In our notice of his work, we have endeavoured to be as conciſe as poſſible, becauſe the praiſe of a critic is often ſuſpicious; and cenſure, we are afraid would, in this inſtance, be uſeleſs, ſince it is highly improbable that the author ſhould ever attempt the Herculean taſk of reviſ-

ing a second edition of such an enormous mass of materials, even on the supposition that his attention should not be called off during the interval to some newer object of inquiry.

ART. II. *Travels after the Peace of Amiens, through Parts of France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany.* By J. G. Lemaistre, Esq. 3 vol. 8vo. pp. 1225. London, Johnson. 1806.

MR LEMAISTRE seems, as far as we can discern, to be one of the great multitude of English idlers whom every suspension of hostilities pours over the face of the Continent, and who fortunately return, for the most part with as little inclination as talent, to become writers of travels. The interest excited by his adventures, is nearly such as might be expected from the domestic narratives of these worthy gentlemen. His route is, of all others, the most beaten, being an integral portion of the grand tour of Europe. His movements were confined to the highway and the more easy parts thereof, by the company of his wife. His intercourse with the natives was limited by the rapidity of his movements, and his entire ignorance of the languages. His general remarks approach to the excellence of those which not unfrequently are heard to drop from country gentlemen. And the species of information which he collects, may be with certainty found among the manuscripts of any given traveller, capable of committing his observations on manners and cities, to the paper of his pocket-book. Were it not, indeed, for the small number of these repositories which ever see the light, we should have found the task of penetrating through these volumes altogether intolerable. The genuine anglicism of the chief objects of attention, eating, drinking, paying, quarrelling with drivers, innkeepers, and foreign customs, would have been ill repaid by the few scattered notices of more important matters which now and then forced themselves on the traveller's view; the omission of almost every thing which one could have wished to see described, would have been hardly compensated by the minute insertion of almost all that one could have spared; and the singular disqualification of the author, in all the great requisites of a traveller, would have been poorly counterbalanced by his various opportunities of procuring information. But while countries are changing their governments, their political relations, their boundaries, their manners, their very names and physical appearances, with a rapidity happily unknown in former times, the last meagre account that can be procured of them, is in some respects preferable to the fullest

and moſt ingenious works of an earlier date: and we have generally remarked, that though the labour of toiling through modern books of travels is ſeldom repaid by the detached ſcraps of information which they contain; yet this toil, when undergone by one, cannot fail to be of general utility, by ſaving other readers the bulk of the taſk, and extracting for their uſe the little that thoſe works preſent. This conſideration muſt form, at once, our reward for the ungrateful labour to which we have ſubmitted, and our apology for troubling our readers with an account of Mr Lemaiſtre's three volumes.

It is not eaſy to imagine a more dull and inſipid ſeries of letters than this honeſt gentleman has managed to indite upon Switzerland and Italy. What he tells of one ſtage, he almoſt invariably repeats of every other. His adventures conſiſt of now a ſhower of rain—now a late arrival; his views are ſometimes a mountain, ſometimes a valley; his calamities are always a bad dinner, or a dear bill, or a ſulky landlord, and a lazy poſtillion; things, we readily admit, moſt intereſting in themſelves, and highly fit to occupy a man's ſerious attention, as indeed they never fail to do, whether we permit them or not; but exceedingly apt to be undervalued by thoſe who merely read the hiſtory of his journeyings. Then, upon every occaſion, Mrs Lemaiſtre is afraid; whether the day is good or bad,—by moonlight and in the dark,—on precipices or in plains,—by land and by water,—this lady's fears are perennial. Not that we by any means doubt the fact, or are at all inclined to blame a huſband for being anxious about his wife; but we conceive that printed books have little to do with ſuch touching and domeſtic points, and that they might all have ſafely been left out, and ſupplied by the reader's imagination.

If, however, we are ſomewhat out of humour with Mr Lemaiſtre's manner of telling his tale, and getting together his materials, we are rather worſe off when he ſtops, as he has an unlucky habit of doing, to reflect and 'meditate the paſſing ſcene.' There is not, we believe, within the four corners of his book, a poſition which the hardieſt ſceptic could find a moment's heſitation in admitting. He has no mercy on common topics, of unqueſtionable and moſt notorious truth. He drives you to abſolute diſtraction by his ſenſible and utterly irrefragable obſervations. You are perpetually ſtunned, not with the novelty, but certainly with the ſolid content of his remark. He equals, in this ſpecies of cruelty, a whole country ſquire and his maiden ſiſter. In fact, the evil which haunts one through the whole book, is a hopeleſs and unvaried mediocrity, for which there is never any cure, and no palliative but reſignation. We begin our extracts

with a few ſpecimens of this vein of reflection, which pervades Mr Lemaiſtre's writings. They will ſerve as an excuſe for confining our future attention to his deſcriptions, and are taken almoſt at random.

Victor Amadeus erected a church on the expulſion of the French by Prince Eugene, from Piedmont. One might have hoped to view this building at peace from all moral reflections, and only annoyed by the monuments and veſtry anecdotes which haunt all ſuch places. But Mr Lemaiſtre has decreed otherwiſe. 'In recollecting,' ſays he, 'this circumſtance, in viewing this ſplendid monument of a paſt triumph over the French, one's pity for the preſent vanquiſhed ſtate of the Piedmonteſe and their depoſed ſovereign, naturally increaſes, and the mind is forcibly recalled to the ſtrange mutability of human affairs.' (I. 182.) Again, talking of the natives of Turin, he remarks, 'that they have no induſtry, becauſe they have no commerce, and conſequently no ſpirit or activity.' And after noticing their exceſſive bigotry, and conſtant attendance at maſs, he judiciouſly warns us not to ſuppoſe, that on this account, they are proportionably virtuous; and all this, as if we had not to wade through ſuch information as the following, in the very ſame pages. 'Our journey from Turin to the Supurga, occupied nearly two hours; but on our return, being on a deſcent, we performed the ſame diſtance in half that time.'—'We went to hear maſs, being Sunday: the muſic did not anſwer the expectations which we had formed.'—'In viſiting, for the ſecond time, the chapel of St Suaire, I was much pleaſed with the marble rotundo, which is certainly beautiful.'—'In returning, we were much ſurpriſed at perceiving the immenſe crowd which filled the road from Turin to the Valentin. It was, indeed, ſo full of paſſengers, that it reminded me of Hyde Park on a Sunday; I alſo counted five or ſix good carriages,' &c. &c.

The ſubject of invaſion affords matter of harangue more than once. It was the apprehenſion of this event that forced our author home. Little does he 'believe ſuch an attempt likely to be made; but who could bear to be abſent for an inſtant, while our common country is menaced?' (II. 250—419.) But the whole force of Mr Lemaiſtre's genius is called forth by the ancient and eſtabliſhed topic of death. In order to indulge upon this point, he properly viſits the Capuchin convent at Vienna, where the Royal family are buried; and their tombs 'are calculated to create reflections, at once awful and inſtructive.' We ſhould ill diſcharge the duty we owe to our readers, were we not to give them the benefit of thoſe 'awful and inſtructive' obſervations. The ſubject is highly important; it relates to matter of univerſal

ſal concernment. Every man is equally intereſted in it; for it is proved, by undoubted and conſtant experiment, that death ſooner or later happens to all: Wherefore, Mr Lemaiſtre has given vent to his mind in the following 'awful' paſſage.

'Sovereigns, heroes, and conquerors, who formerly filled the moſt diſtinguiſhed parts on the great theatre of public life, ſtripped of the enſigns of power, of glory, and of triumph, are, in this manſion of death, ranged ſide by ſide, with undiſcriminating regularity; and, no longer animated by an ambition that once ſpurned at the limits of the world, are here encloſed within the narrow compaſs of a tomb; while their once revered perſons, rapidly mouldering into decay, are now but hideous and offenſive maſſes of corruption! Such is the lot of humanity! from which inevitable doom, neither the ſplendour of rank, the charms of beauty, the applauſes of fame, nor the dignity of virtue, can for an hour ſave the proudeſt, the faireſt, the greateſt, or the beſt of human kind.' (II. 265.)

It is, indeed, the character of our author's reflections, in general, as in this inſtance, to be at leaſt as awful as they are inſtructive. It is not indeed in every page that we are ſcared by any thing like the preceding ſpectacle; yet we acknowledge, that his remarks on the death of the Queen of France (the rock on which ſo many reflecting minds have lately ſplit, *vide* our review of Hunter's Travels), are ſufficiently dreadful; and even, as he himſelf is pleaſed to term them, 'melancholy.'

'The Empreſs, and the ladies belonging to her *ſuite*, wore a profuſion of diamonds. The ſplendour of theſe ornaments, the lovely forms and coſtly dreſſes of the women, the ſolemn pace and ſingular coſtume of the religious communities, the reſpectable and ſtriking appearance of the military, the crowds of perſons who filled every window, and the dignity of the illuſtrious perſons who appeared as the principal actors in this ſcene, preſented altogether a *ſpectacle* of vaſt and uncommon grandeur.

'Beautiful, however, as was this ſcene, from a concatenation of circumſtances it excited ſome melancholy reflections in my mind. Thirteen years had elapſed ſince, for the firſt and only time before, I had ſeen the ceremony of the *Corpus Chriſti*. On that occaſion, the lovely Marie Antoinette ſhone like a ſuperior ſtar; and as ſhe walked through the ſtreets of Paris, and aſtoniſhed all beholders with the charms of her perſon and the dignity of her manner, every voice ſeemed ready to exclaim,

"Et vera inceſſu patuit Dea."

Who then imagined, though this beautiful Queen had already experienced ſome revolutionary inſults, that ſhe was doomed to witneſs the murder of her royal huſband; to languiſh on the ſtraw bed of a diſgraceful priſon; to be accuſed of crimes at which nature revolts; and to be carried in a cart, to end her days on a ſcaffold, like the loweſt and baſeſt of her ſex?—The virtuous and ill-fated Louis walked by her

ſide, at the ſolemnity to which I allude; and, as he moved along, was greeted on every ſide with the endearing title of "Father," and "Regenerator of his people," and welcomed with the acclamations of that nation who, two ſhort years afterwards, condemned him to the death of a felon!' (II. 334, 335.)

And ſo he runs on for a couple of pages more; demonſtrating that Kings are in modern times ſubject to viciſſitudes; declaring againſt fortune for her mutability; thundering out his proofs, that no degree of virtue can ſecure men from adverſity; triumphantly demanding who ſhall ſay that the armies of the Emperor may not one day be overthrown; indignantly daring all the world to diſprove his arguments drawn from Louis XVI.'s fate; and defying any man living to ſay, after him, that he is ſecure from the ſtrokes of fate. (See p. 336.) Theſe notable paſſages are, as our readers will perceive, in the very pureſt ſtyle of the ſolid and ingenious Mr William Hunter above alluded to.

Such is the general turn of Mr Lemaiſtre's morality, whom we are now haſtily to attend upon his travels. He left Paris, where he had reſided long enough to write his 'Rough Sketch' of that capital, publiſhed ſome years ago, and took the road to Geneva, where he reſided ſome weeks. He, of courſe, viſited Ferney, and has given the only account of that intereſting ſpot that has been publiſhed ſince the Revolution.

'I proceed to ſpeak of my viſit to Ferney. I attended a party of Engliſh friends to that far-famed place a few days ſince. Ferney is ſituated in a beautiful country, about ſeven or eight miles from Geneva. The town, which owed its proſperity to Voltaire, and was principally built by him, is ſtill inhabited, and ſeveral of the houſes are of a good conſtruction. On approaching the "château," or country-ſeat, which ſtands above the town, commanding a very extenſive view of Mont Blanc, the lake of Leman, and the adjoining country (every ſpot of which is diſtinguiſhed by ſome particular beauty), we perceived that there were perſons aſſembled in the church. This church, as every body knows, was erected by Voltaire. A prieſt was officiating at the altar, who (ſo I was afterwards informed) was *curé*, or rector, in the time of the philoſopher. His name is Huguné; and, after a ten years' exile, he is lately returned to perform the duties of his profeſſion, in the very ſpot where it is ſuppoſed that the abolition of religion was firſt planned. You will eaſily conceive with what curioſity we viewed a place and a ceremony rendered ſo very ſingular by the number of concurring circumſtances.

'The château now belongs to M. B., from whoſe family Voltaire bought the eſtate. After his death, Madame Denys poſſeſſed it for a few years. Then ſucceeded the Marquis de la Villette, who, after diſpoſing of ſeveral detached pieces, at laſt ſold back the whole which remained, to the repreſentative of the original proprietor, the preſent poſ-

ſeſſor.

ſeſſor. This gentleman received us with great politeneſs, and himſelf ſhowed us the grounds.

'I am happy to add, that the apartment of Voltaire ſtill continues exactly in the ſtate in which he occupied it. To ſatisfy your curioſity, I have copied a liſt of the pictures and inſcriptions which it contains. In his bedchamber, on the wall, is written—

"Mes mânes ſont conſolés, puiſque mon cœur
Eſt au milieu de vous."

'Under this inſcription ſtood formerly a black china vaſe, containing the heart of the philoſopher; and under the vaſe was written—

"Son eſprit eſt partout, et ſon cœur eſt ici."

His heart has ſince been removed, and is now placed in the Pantheon of Paris.

'On the right of this monument is the picture of a beautiful young woman, who is called "La Couturiére;" a print of Pope Clement XIV.; and the portrait of a lad who was his "rameur," or boatman. On the left, a likeneſs of Catharine II., worked on ſilk, and which is ſaid to be the performance of the Empreſs. This muſt be a miſtake, as above it is written—

"La Salle inven. et fecit."

Underneath are theſe words—

"Préſenté à monſieur Voltaire par l'auteur."

'On the right of the bed, which is ornamented with yellow ſilk curtains, is an excellent likeneſs of Frederic II. of Pruſſia: on the left, a drawing of Voltaire, taken at the age of forty.

'On the wall againſt which the bedſtead is placed, and within the curtains, is a large print of Le Kain, the celebrated tragic actor, encircled with laurel. Near the fire-place is a likeneſs of Madame la Marquiſe de Chatelet.

'On the right of the window, prints of the following perſons are ſuſpended: the family of Calas, Diderot, Iſaac Newton, Benjamin Franklin, Pierre Corneille, J. D. d'Alembert, and John Milton. Theſe were placed by Voltaire; to which has been added, a ſmall print of J. Delille, with this citation, written with a pen—"Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili;" and a large one of George Waſhington.

'On the left ſide of the window, are engravings of the following: Etienne François duc de Choiſeul d'Amboiſe, Antoine Thomas, George Guillaume Leibnitz, Jean Jacques d'Artons de Marain, J. d'Alembert, Jean Racine, F. F. Marmontel, and C. E. Helvetius.

'Near theſe alſo appears a print, intended as a deſign for a tomb, and made under his own directions, with this epitaph—

"Dans ce triſte et fatal tombeau
Repoſe l'ombre de Voltaire.
Pleurez, beaux arts—vous ne verrez plus de père:
Et l'univers a perdu ſon flambeau." (I. 35—38.)

From Geneva Mr Lemaiſtre made a tour in the Glaciers of Savoy; and, with his uſual felicity in that particular, met with

the moſt agreeable companions which it was poſſible to wiſh for. However, their diſcoveries are ſcantily detailed; the only notable occurrence which we have met with in this part of the work, being the ſingular accident of our traveller's finding the two Albinos, formerly exhibited in the Haymarket, comfortably ſettled in the valley of Chamouni, and living on the money they made in London. The tour through the Glaciers of Savoy, is ſucceeded by a tour through Switzerland, which is exhibited in the form of a diary. We did not before conceive it poſſible for the witleſſneſs of man to have made ſuch a ſubject ſo unintereſting. Accuſtomed as we had been to the Karamſins and Kotzebues of the day, and not altogether unacquainted with the great maſter of modern travel-writing, Mr W. Hunter, we had ſtill thought, that to render the actual journal of any given man traverſing all the Swiſs Cantons quite inſipid, exceeded the powers of human dulneſs. How greatly we were miſtaken, the following ſpecimen of Mr Lemaiſtre's Swiſs tour may ſhew. It is matched in every page of this part of his book.

'We ſpent the reſt of the morning in wandering over the town, which is uncommonly neat and pretty in every part. We dined at an early hour, and proceeded afterwards on our road to Thun, which is diſtant about eighteen miles from Berne.

'We arrived at the former of theſe places at ſeven in the evening, after a delightful journey. The road was excellent, and the views more than commonly beautiful. A cultivated and well-wooded valley, filled with pretty villages, was the country through which we travelled; and the towering Alps finiſhed the landſcape.

'Tueſday, Sept. 7.—We left our carriage to await our return at *Le Freyhoff*, the little inn of Thun, and got into a boat covered with oiled ſkin and rowed by three men, at a little before nine o'clock this morning. After rowing for a ſhort diſtance on the river Aar, we found ourſelves on the lake of Thun; one bank of which preſents majeſtic mountains (particularly Le Nieſe and Le Stockhorne); and the other, fine woods and rich vineyards. As we moved along on this wide and beautiful piece of water, we remarked Le Château de Oberhoffen, where formerly reſided a bailiff of Berne, and near it a gentleman's ſeat, belonging to M. de Vatevell. Under the Nieſe I perceived, in a ſweet ſituation, a white little church, which ſeemed as if it had been an object placed there on purpoſe to increaſe the beauty of the landſcape. Further on, on the ſame ſide, we obſerved the caſtle and church of Spietz, belonging formerly to the Barons of Boutenbourg, and at preſent to the ancient family of D'Erlach of Berne.

'On the other bank, we noticed a curious old wooden houſe, with the horns of a deer ſuſpended as a ſign before it. The next objects which attracted our attention, were the houſe and village of Meerlingen. The former of theſe is exactly midway between the extremities

mities of the lake. The inhabitants of the village are conſidered, according to the prejudices of the country, as idiots; but M. Richart (whoſe travelling book I had with me) ſays, that there is not the leaſt truth in the report.—On a height above, ſtands a village church in a moſt romantic poſition.

'We now approached a kind of bay. On the left were fir trees growing out of the rock; and on the right, fine woods, planted at the foot of the mighty mountains which ſtand above. After turning round the rock, which here projects, we perceived Neuhaus (or the new houſe), near which perſons ſometimes land, and take a direct path to Uterſee. On the right, cloſe on the lake, a pretty little village, called Leiſegal, demanded our attention; and, on the other ſide, a caſcade falling from a vaſt eminence; and above, a church built in the centre of the rock, which is itſelf covered with trees.' I. 99, 100, 101.

As a compenſation for the above extract, we ſhall preſent our readers with what we think by much the beſt paſſage in Mr Lemaiſtre's whole work, in which he gives a ſketch of Switzerland and the Swiſs. It is ſufficiently correct, and not deficient in ſpirit.

'The beauties of Switzerland are ſo various; there is ſuch an extraordinary combination of the grand and mild features of Nature, of the ſublime and lovely; of wild and cultivated ſcenery; that it is almoſt impoſſible to conceive unwitneſſed the ſatisfaction which one enjoys in travelling through this delightful country. Here, towering Alps, mountains of ice, extenſive lakes, and loud-ſounding cataracts: there, cornfields, vineyards, pleaſure-grounds, lofty trees, plains of unequalled verdure, level roads, and ſmiling villages. In one canton, all the pomp and ceremony of the church of Rome, accompanied very generally by dirt, idleneſs, and comparative indigence: in another, the unadorned worſhip of the Supreme Being in ſimple ruſtic meeting-houſes filled with congregations of orderly, well-dreſſed, and well-looking peaſantry. The variety of religion is not more remarkable than the variety of *coſtume:* every canton has its diſtinguiſhing habit; and while each differs from the other, all of them have a character peculiar to this country, and totally unlike the dreſſes of any other nation in modern Europe. Many of the female faſhions are very becoming; and I have ſeen ſome girls, ſo accoutred, who would have excited the praiſes of admiration even in London or in Paris. In ſome parts of Switzerland, the women wear large ſtraw hats, ornamented with roſes and wild flowers: in others, black beavers, with gold bands. Their hair is ſometimes folded in treſſes round their heads; ſometimes encloſed in plaits, which are ſo long as to reach their feet; and ſometimes covered by a black lace cap of ſingular ſhape. Their jackets are of different forms and different colours. A ſhort petticoat here diſcovers a red ſtocking, with a wooden ſlipper; and there, a white one, with a black leather ſandal of peculiar form. In ſhort, the eccentricities of dreſs are innumerable: and in travelling in this country, a man may eaſily imagine himſelf at a maſquerade.

'The

'The appearance of the people, with ſome exceptions, is reſpectable. There ſeems ſtill to reign much comfort, independence, and general eaſe.

'The houſes in moſt of the villages are of wood, and are frequently built without chimneys,—the ſmoke being allowed to make its way through the windows. This is an inconvenience not ariſing from poverty; for many of the houſes ſo conſtructed belong to perſons in affluent circumſtances, and contain rooms of ſome extent; but occaſioned by the prevalence of long uſage, which has not yet yielded to the improvements of the preſent day.

'The Swiſs are a tall, athletic, hardy race of men: civil, reſerved, and cautious in all their proceedings: much attached to their own country and cuſtoms; zealous advocates of rational freedom; inclined to military exertion; and entertaining a violent antipathy to their neighbours and oppreſſors, the French nation. Having given them this character, it is almoſt needleſs for me to add, that, if France wiſhes to ſink the name of Switzerland into that of a department of the republic "one and indiviſible," ſhe can only ſucceed in her object by ſuperior force: voluntarily this brave people will never become the vaſſal of that or any other country whatever.' p. 146, 147, 148.

This general deſcription is true; and it is our conviction of its truth, that chiefly excites our aſtoniſhment at finding the author's details of his tour in ſuch a country ſo perfectly unintereſting.

From Switzerland Mr Lemaiſtre proceeded acroſs the Alps to Turin. He is now fairly got into that delightful region, which ſo many famous travellers have deſcribed, and yet left almoſt every thing to be learnt by their ſucceſſors,—which ſo many conquerors have pillaged, and yet left poſſeſſed of wonders, even among the works of art, ſufficient to make thoſe who now ſee it for the firſt time imagine that it never contained more. We admit, that little is added to our former pictures of this country, by the dry journals and catalogues of which theſe volumes are made up. But it is always pleaſing to dwell on ſuch a ſubject. Nothing written concerning it can greatly fatigue us; and this is ſomething when we have to do with a traveller like Mr Lemaiſtre. Before proceeding to notice what he has done upon this ſubject, we ſhall briefly mention what we think it deſerves, if properly treated. Much of the knowledge chiefly wanted upon Italy, would preſent itſelf to an intelligent and induſtrious traveller, who went reſolved to truſt his own eyes, and procure his information more from obſervation and the intercourſe of the natives, than from ſtatiſtical works. The ſtate of ſociety—the character and manners of the people—the ſingular diverſities obſervable in theſe particulars, both in different parts of the country, and in different ranks of the ſame community—the declining influence of the civil and eccleſiaſtical ariſtocracies—the real ſituation

tion of the clergy—and the actual degree of ſuperſtition prevalent among the people:—all this might eaſily be learnt from a ſufficient intercourſe with the ſociety of the various ſtates. The effects which bad governments, and injurious ſyſtems of political economy have produced on the ſituation of different communities, might be illuſtrated with peculiar felicity in a country, where every kind of government, and every error in policy has flouriſhed among various portions of the ſame race, in nearly the ſame phyſical circumſtances, and geographical poſition, for ſeveral ages. The ſtate of letters—the recent progreſs of arts and ſciences, eſpecially in the north of Italy—and the hiſtory of the academies which have, during the laſt half century, ariſen there, forms another ſubject of intereſting obſervation, which has never been handled by any writer of travels. The mere ſcenery and climate itſelf have not been deſcribed with ſufficient livelineſs and accuracy. The remains of antiquity; the fine arts; and the recollections aſſociated with the ſoil, have engroſſed, not unnaturally, almoſt all the attention of thoſe who viſited this fine country.

'Adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem,
Tot congeſta manû præruptis oppida ſaxis;
Fluminaque antiquos ſubterlabentia muros.'—

'Hæc genus acre virûm Marſos, pubemque Sabellam,
Adſuetumque malo Ligurem, Volſcoſque verutos
Extulit: Hæc Decios, Marios, magnoſque Camillos
Scipiadaſque duros bello, et te maxime Cæſar.'

Such deſcriptions, and ſuch aſſociations, ought by no means to be neglected in a tour of Italy. Much as they have been dwelt upon by the beſt travellers, the theme is not yet exhauſted. It is ſtill poſſible to illuſtrate the ground by claſſical references, and thus to extend, by new recollections, one of the moſt delightful pleaſures which the viſitor of Italy enjoys: And it is, at any rate, uſeful to trace the changes which late events have produced in the treaſures of art poſſeſſed by this country. For accompliſhing the taſk which we have juſt now ſketched, and it is one of no very difficult execution, the traveller muſt evidently poſſeſs a previous knowledge of the hiſtory and ſtatiſtics of Italy; a thorough acquaintance with the ancient and modern language of its inhabitants; and a ſufficient degree of familiarity with the Latin claſſics. Indeed, thoſe qualifications are quite requiſite to any one who would enjoy the gratification of treading over the ground, without further views than his own immediate amuſement. As ſuch endowments are exceedingly common, even among the young perſons who travel into the ſouth of Europe and their tutors, we truſt that many years of peace will not paſs over without ſome attempt being made to accompliſh the work now hinted at. How far

far Mr Lemaiſtre has been from doing any ſuch thing, we ſhall beſt explain by ſtating the extent and number of his diſqualifications for it.

In the *firſt* place, if, which is exceedingly poſſible, he does poſſeſs any knowledge of Italian hiſtory or ſtatiſtics, he has carefully, and, we will ſay, very ſucceſsfully concealed it. He has ſtudiouſly avoided all occaſions on which it might be diſplayed, and only by accident now and then left us to our ſuſpicions of him, when, in the endleſs round of his catalogues, he ſtumbles upon a celebrated character in hiſtory, and betrays an unpleaſant want of acquaintance with him. For example, the founder of the order of Jeſuits, whom he meets by accident among the churches at Rome, is paſſed by without any acknowledgement; or, at any rate, plainly *has the advantage* of our traveller, who calls him '*St Ignatius of Loyola.*' (II. 125.) *Secondly*, our author does not even pretend to know ten words of Italian, the eaſieſt as it is the moſt beautiful of modern languages, and ſo neceſſary for the inſtruction as well as the common comfort and convenience of any one deſirous of ſeeing Italy, that, without it, a traveller had better confine his excurſion to Wales or the Iſle of Wight. Not that Mr Lemaiſtre's profeſſed ignorance of Italian in the leaſt prevents him from crowding his pages with ſcraps of that language, to denote things juſt as intelligible in Engliſh. Theſe are ſcattered up and down with a liberal hand; and the murder of grammar and ſpelling render them ſo many eye-ſores to the reader. We have, for example, *Spagnia*, *Marquiſſe*, (we preſume for *Marcheſe*), Cavaliere *Servante*, &c.; and when a wrong Italian word is not at hand, rather than give us plain Engliſh, Mr Lemaiſtre muſt write his names of places and cuſtoms in French, which has about as little to do with the ſubject as Chineſe; beſides that his French is very indifferent. For example, talking of the Linden walk at Berlin, he muſt call it the *Tilleul*; and, inſtead of ſaying the Japan Palace at Dreſden, or giving the German name, whatever it is, he will have it to be the Palais *Japannais*, which is a mixture of French and ſome other language quite unknown to us. In the *third* requiſite above pointed out, an acquaintance with claſſical authors, Mr Lemaiſtre is almoſt equally deficient. He is far from giving us no quotations; on the contrary, the claſſic ground on which he treads inſpires him, and 'rouſes up all the Roman' that he has within him; but that is very little. His citations are not appoſite, and infinitely trite: as, diſcourſing of love, he '*exclaims*,' '*Omnia vincit amor, nos et cedamus amori.*' Of Baiæ, '*Nullus in orbe locus Baiis prælucet amœnis.*' And when he cannot find a quotation he will make one: as, talking of the Ruſſian miniſter

at

at Vienna, who it ſeems does not live ſo well as the Engliſh miniſter, (a topic from which our traveller derives wonderful conſolation), he adds, that it may ſtill be ſaid of him, '*Sequitur fratrem non paſſibus æquis.*' And theſe are Mr Lemaiſtre's eminent diſqualifications for writing travels in Italy or elſewhere. All that we have to expect then from him, is a dry catalogue of the more common ſights, with now and then a little tolerable deſcription of the moſt intereſting part of Europe.

With ſuch endowments as we have deſcribed, he makes his way to Rome, and contrives to fill nearly a volume with appendixes taken from Lumſden's Guide, and other works, which give an account of that celebrated city. That his taſte in painting is not of the moſt approved kind, may probably be conjectured from his totally omitting in his notice of the chief pictures in the Borgheſe palace, the celebrated Titian of Venus blinding Cupid, perhaps the ſecond work of that great maſter; and alſo from his being unable to ſee any thing very fine in the ſchool of Athens, unqueſtionably the fineſt picture in the world. Mr Lemaiſtre, however, greatly prefers the St Peter in priſon, in praiſe of which he is long and loud—evidently taken in by the trick and colouring of that beautiful piece; which no man of taſte or knowledge ever viewed as remarkable in compariſon of Raphael's other chef-d'œuvres, except becauſe it is a curious ſpecimen of what his powers would have been, had he choſen to exert them in the very ſubordinate purſuit of ſtriking effect. Such miſtakes as Kotzebue ſometimes makes on theſe ſubjects, may eaſily be forgiven; they are the fruits leſs of an ignorant or taſteleſs mind, than of a love of paradox; and he frequently gives us ſome ingenious, or at leaſt original idea in deſcribing his affected ſingularities of judgment. But the reader of Mr Lemaiſtre will ſearch his dull liſts, his mere roll-call of pictures and ſtatues in vain, for any novelty of remark, or any ſtriking thoughts. Where he deviates farther from the ſtyle of a catalogue than to call a thing pretty, fine, or charming, he only makes groſs and ordinary blunders; not the flights of genius, or the errors of paradox, or even the efforts of affectation,—but the miſtakes and the ignorance of one whoſe higheſt ambition would be to follow the common track of connoiſſeurs, and imitate the ordinary Cicerone, or his diſciple the Engliſh traveller,—but whoſe taſte or acquirements are inadequate to the attainment of this humble ſtation. Accordingly, he is of all travellers after the fine arts by much the moſt unprofitable.

Beſides ſeeing the churches and palaces at Rome, our author is preſented to the Pope by Mr Fagan, a painter, or rather a dealer in pictures, who takes upon himſelf the functions of an

Engliſh

Engliſh miniſter, and receives the cordial thanks of Mr Lemaiſtre. This perſon, indeed, who has no ſort of authority to act for this country, and who nevertheleſs grants paſſports as if he were an accredited agent, ſeems to have ſucceeded completely in playing himſelf off upon our traveller. He is warmly praiſed for his polite attentions, and mentioned as a public benefit to all Engliſhmen at Rome. Another viſit was made to Cardinal York, who received Mr Lemaiſtre with the utmoſt hoſpitality and kindneſs, at his villa, and who receives the remuneration which always attends ſuch ill adviſed acts of civility, in being held up to public ridicule through ſeveral pages of a book. The Biſhop of Salin, in a ſubſequent part of the tour, performed the ſame rites of hoſpitality, and meets with the like return.

From Rome, the author journeyed on to Naples, where we again have catalogues and liſts of names—though the environs of that capital are too intereſting for even Mr Lemaiſtre's pencil to make dull. We formerly gave Kotzebue's deſcription of the great wonder of Naples and of Italy, Pompeii. That our readers may compare the two, and receive whatever additional information we can communicate on ſo curious a ſubject, we ſhall extract Mr Lemaiſtre's account of the ſame town.

'From Portici, we drove to Pompeia, or Pompeii (for it is called by both names), a diſtance of ten miles. The country is beautiful, and the road excellent. Our expectations, highly as they had been raiſed, were, on arriving, much exceeded by the reality. Pompeii is not, like Herculaneum, under ground, and only viſible in parts, and by torch-light: the whole is ſeen in open day; and the ruins might be taken for thoſe of a city only juſt deſtroyed. We walked through the ſtreets, the pavement of which ſtill exiſts; and the marks of the carriages which once rolled over them are clearly diſcerned. The ſtreets are narrow, and have flag ſtones on each ſide for foot-paſſengers. We ſaw two perfect amphitheatres, with the ſeats which the citizens of Pompeii formerly occupied; and plainly diſtinguiſhed the boxes of the conſuls, marked by correſponding ornaments. The public inſcriptions alſo remain.

'We next entered the temple of Iſis, * and beheld the altar, the ſecret

* 'This temple was built of brick, and covered with a kind of ſtucco. Some of the pillars are ſtill entire: they are nine feet and a half high, and of the Doric order. All the inſtruments employed in ſacrifice were found in this temple: candelabra, lamps, luſtral baſins, &c. Skeletons were alſo lying here, ſuppoſed to be the remains of the prieſts, who, as they were performing the ſacred rites, were ſmothered in the ſhower of lava which deſtroyed the town. The walls were ornamented with emblems deſcriptive of the worſhip of Iſis, and even with paintings of the *coſtumes* of the prieſts.'

cret ſtaircaſe and hiding-place whence the prieſts pronounced the anſwers of the oracle, the place of ſlaughter, and that of ſacrifice, &c. &c. We likewiſe viſited the barracks of the ſoldiers, which ſtood at one end of the town.

'The private houſes are but ſmall, and each poſſeſſes a hall, or entrance room, in which a fountain of water conſtantly played. The apartments would be thought very little even in England, and in this hot climate muſt have been very inconvenient.

'The burying-ground of Diomedes, and the village of a rich citizen, were the next objects which drew our attention. The latter is the only edifice which conveys ſome idea of a large manſion.

'From the limited dimenſions of the houſes here (notwithſtanding the paintings and other valuable articles found within them, which prove that economy cannot have occaſioned this diminutive ſtyle of building); and from the circumſtance of not one ancient dwelling being left at Rome, though the Coliſeum, the Pantheon, and even parts of the Emperors' palace remain; I am inclined to conjecture, that a cuſtom, originating in the ſpirit of republicaniſm, made the maſters of the world avoid every appearance of oſtentation in private habitations;* while the utmoſt magnificence, luxury, and taſte abounded in the theatres and forums, where the people aſſembled; in the manſions where the magiſtrates, the conſuls, or the emperors reſided; in the baths devoted to public uſe; and in the temples of the gods. As I am no antiquary, I pretend not to give a deciſive opinion on a fact with which I am ſo little acquainted; and only throw out this idea as one which has ſuggeſted itſelf more than once ſince I croſſed the Alps.

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* 'In looking into Mr Gibbon's account of Rome ſince my return to England, I was happy to find my conjecture confirmed by the following beautiful paſſage.—

"In the commonwealths of Athens and Rome, the modeſt ſimplicity of private houſes announced the equal condition of freedom, whilſt the ſovereignty of the people was repreſented in the majeſtic edifices deſtined to the public uſe. Nor was this republican ſpirit totally extinguiſhed by the introduction of wealth and monarchy: it was in works of national honour and benefit that the moſt virtuous of the emperors affected to diſplay their magnificence."—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. I.

'Perhaps the ſplendid reſidences of Lucullus, Verres, and ſome others, may be adduced as contradicting the probability of this ſuppoſition. I ſhall only obſerve, that theſe particular caſes prove nothing againſt the general cuſtom. I have no doubt that ſome few Romans occupied habitations infinitely more ſplendid and more ſpacious than the palaces of modern ſovereigns; but I apprehend that the wealthy citizens of ancient Rome were uſually ſatisfied with much humbler houſes than thoſe which perſons in ſimilar circumſtances now occupy in the great capitals of Europe.'

'I reſume the ſubject of Pompeii. In the cellars of the villa, ſeveral bodies were found, ſuppoſed to have been thoſe of ſervants; while in another part were diſcovered, ſurrounded with bags of uſeleſs gold, the carcaſes of their maſters. Fine paintings *al-freſco* are ſtill viſible, and ſome of them are on tranſparent marble. When water is thrown on theſe pictures, they appear in all the freſhneſs of their original colouring. The ſubjects of ſome of theſe paintings are not very decorous, according to modern ideas of delicacy; and the ſymbol of the god of gardening appears rather too frequently in the decoration of houſes. Different ſigns, diſtinguiſhing the different trades carried on in ſhops, are plainly perceived; and among them, thoſe of a tavern-keeper, on which all ſorts of refreſhments are painted.

'Having given you theſe few particulars, I need ſcarcely mention how much we were gratified in ſtrolling about a place inhabited by the Romans, and which looked as if they had ceaſed but yeſterday to occupy it. Identifying their perſons with their habitations, we ſeemed to ſee them at their games, at their devotions, in the interior of their private dwellings, at their military exerciſes, walking or driving about their ſtreets, enjoying ſocial converſe, preparing feaſts, or conſulting the oracle of their gods: in ſhort, in their daily occupations,—in the kitchen, the bedchamber, the cellar, the library, the market, the walk, the forum, the theatre, the camp, and the temple.' II. 33—37.

We conclude our extracts with the following deſcription of a young lady taking the veil, which is both ſtriking and correct. We omit the quotations from Pope's Eloiſa, with which Mr Lemaiſtre has thought fit to bedizzen his pages in this part of his narrative.

'When we ſtopped at the door of the church in which this dreadful ſacrifice was to be made, two gentlemen, dreſſed in uniform, relations of the lady about to aſſume the religious habit, came forward, and, notwithſtanding a heavy ſhower of rain which was falling at the time, inſiſted on handing *le Signore Ingleſe* up the ſtairs of the church. On entering, we received another mark of the civility ſhown to ſtrangers by the Neapolitan *nobleſſe*,—the front ſeats were reſerved excluſively for foreigners; by which arrangement we were enabled to ſee the ceremony to the greateſt advantage.

'The church is a ſmall, but pretty, building, decorated on all ſides with rich marble.

'The relatives of the unfortunate girl, and all their friends, were in full dreſs; and, inſtead of expreſſing any grief on the occaſion, ſeemed to conſider the event as extremely joyful. Livelineſs ſat on the countenances of moſt of them: and the whole ſcene had rather the appearance of a triumph, than of a ſacrifice.

'Printed papers were diſtributed about the church; the contents of which were ſo curious, that though I will not tire you by copying them *verbatim*, I muſt give you the heads, as characteriſtic of the ſentiments which prevail here on ſuch ſubjects. They formed together a dialogue, the

the *dramatis perſonæ* of which were the World and the fair novice. The one was entitled, "To her excellency Signora ——— the World ſpeaks;" and conſiſted of a poetical and flowery deſcription of the pleaſures of life. The other had written over it, "To the World her excellency Signora ——— anſwers." In the latter, the victim of ſuperſtition was made victoriouſly to prove the ſuperior bleſſings of contemplative eaſe and celeſtial joy, found in the calm retreat of a religious houſe: and, diſdaining the tawdry and empty vanities offered by the World, ſhe declared how happy ſhe thought herſelf in being allowed to exchange theſe baubles for the glorious ſervice of the heavenly Spouſe to which ſhe was about to devote the remainder of her days.

'The ceremony began with ſome very good muſic. High maſs was then ſaid; and, in the middle of it, the unfortunate girl, a beautiful and elegant creature, not more than nineteen years of age, and by far the handſomeſt Neapolitan female whom I have yet ſeen, appeared at the grate; near which a large, and rather diſorderly crowd, was collected. The confeſſor, ſtanding on the outer ſide, read ſome prayers, and gave the novice, through the grate, a wax taper lighted. The lovely victim, dreſſed in the moſt ſumptuous and faſhionable manner, and ornamented with jewels and other decorations, placed it on the altar of an inner chapel, and, returning again to the grate, received from the prieſt a crucifix. Joy ſparkled in her countenance as ſhe took the ſacred ſymbol of Chriſtianity, and with enthuſiaſtic ardour claſped it to her breaſt. She was then led away by the other nuns; and in a few minutes was brought back in a plain white flannel dreſs, the *coſtume* of the order. This change of garment had produced none in her beauty; and the intereſt which ſhe had excited on her firſt appearance, was rather increaſed than diminiſhed by the religious habit which ſhe now wore. The lady-abbeſs next cut off her long and flowing hair, and put over her head the fatal veil. I confeſs that I ſhuddered as I witneſſed this laſt act, which ſealed the fate of the unhappy girl. This ſentiment, common to all the Engliſh, and which rendered the moſt volatile melancholy, was not ſhared by the neareſt relatives of her who was thus condemned

"to wither in her bloom,
Loſt in a convent's ſolitary gloom."

The Neapolitan ladies laughed, or rather *giggled*, during the moſt ſerious parts of the ceremony; ſent meſſages backwards and forwards; and amuſed themſelves with converſing together on the moſt trivial topics: in ſhort, ſeemed to conſider the whole as a very lively and pleaſant event. The novice ſhed no tears; but her countenance was pale, and I thought I could diſcover that the ſmile ſhe aſſumed was rather forced than natural.

'As we were leaving the chapel, we were invited into the *parloir*; where the nuns, only ſeparated by a low grate, appeared, and entertained the ſtrangers with ice, cakes, and other refreſhments. The new victim was here ſeen again, and ſeemed, by an officious activity diſplayed

in waiting on her gueſts, to be anxious to conceal the dreadful thoughts which probably preſſed on her mind.

'During the whole of this ceremony, I experienced the moſt painful ſenſations, and I could not help remarking, how circumſtances of the moſt dreadful kind may be reconciled by cuſtom, prejudice, and religious opinions. The Engliſh aſſembled on this occaſion, feeling both pity for the object of ſacrifice, and indignation againſt thoſe who were the authors of it, were at one inſtant overcome with grief, and the next animated with an enthuſiaſtic wiſh to ruſh forward, and, by force, to reſcue the victim of ſuperſtition from the hands of her bigoted relatives; while the Neapolitans, conceiving that they themſelves were doing an act of laudable piety in devoting this lovely creature to the cloiſter, and were likewiſe inſuring her eternal happineſs, ſhowed, in their manner, their countenances, and their converſation, that they looked on what was paſſing as a ſcene of joy, not of ſorrow. The loud tone of ſpeaking, or ſcreaming, which I have before remarked as prevalent in Italian ſociety, was particularly remarkable on this occaſion; and nothing, altogether, could be leſs ſolemn, than a ceremony calculated, according to our ideas, to excite the moſt ſerious and moſt painful reflections.' (II. 62—67.)

From Naples our author returned through Rome to Venice, and thence by the way of Styria to Vienna, where he found the people hoſpitable, the ambaſſadors ſplendid, and the court every thing that could be wiſhed. This indeed happens always to Mr Lemaiſtre. He is no railer at the great ones of the world. A Prince is with him a ſynonyme for perfection; and he takes *King* in its antique ſignification of a wiſe man. The politeneſs of the Royal family at Naples was as winning, and their remarks as ſprightly, as thoſe of the Pope. Nor could any thing have ſurpaſſed both their Majeſties and his Holineſs, but the affability and graciouſneſs of the Emperor and Empreſs; who, together with all the Archdukes, and all the Archducheſſes, and all the Princes of the Milaneſe, as well as the Auſtrian branch, are poſſeſſed of every virtue, public and private, and of all the accompliſhments of body and mind, which their ſtations require. Nay, ſo infectious is this univerſal perfection, that it extends to their Excellencies (a term uſed by our author in its literal ſenſe) the Miniſters of State and their wives; inſomuch, that Count Cobentzel, who, we learn, is a perſon of 'lively parts, and celebrated for his wit,' invited Mr Lemaiſtre to a dinner of a hundred diſhes; and Count Zechy gave him a dinner, where the diſhes were ſtill better dreſſed, and where there was alſo tokay; while Counteſs Zechy, at a ball, ſhewed Mrs Lemaiſtre 'a degree of elegant attention, infinitely honourable to her,' after the following manner: 'With a reſpect for ſtrangers which cannot be too highly extolled, and which, I believe, is almoſt peculiar to Vienna, Madame

dame Zechy roſe, and croſſed the room, to receive Mrs Lemaiſtre.' (II. 317.) Nor is the optimiſm of the Court of Vienna confined to natives; Count P. and his lady, a native of Scotland, are models of perfection in their ſeveral walks; and their ſon, a child of five years old, is the very Roſcius of our author's admiration. 'He ſits on a carpet ſurrounded with books, and delivers the graveſt and moſt acute remarks, rather like a ſpirit than a child.' —'He is a phenomenon; and, ſhould he live and continue to make an equal progreſs in knowledge, he will rival the fame of—Sir Iſaac Newton!' (II. 360–1.)

At Dreſden and Berlin, Mr Lemaiſtre ſcarcely ſtopt. He has time, however, to notice the infinite perfections of the Electoral family at the one place, having ſeen them paſſing out of church to their carriage, and the Royal houſe at the other. The Queen's beauty, in particular, he pronounces deſerving of its high and univerſal celebrity, having ſeen her drive paſt in a poſtchaiſe and four, with her handkerchief applied to her face. From Berlin he proceeded through Lubec to Toningen, where his ſtock of pictures and ſtatues, and kings and queens, and, unhappily, even of dinners and beds, failing him, he conducts us in peace to the water's edge, embarks in a packet, and arrives in a tumult of joy on the Engliſh coaſt.

Upon the whole, we muſt be permitted to grumble a little at Mr Lemaiſtre for the dulneſs of his long work. We believe that he belongs, when properly claſſified, to the agricultural, and not to the literary part of the community. Now that he has finiſhed his tours, and publiſhed two printed books on them, we exhort him to hang up his pen, which was not made for public purpoſes. In the circle of domeſtic ſociety, in the boſom of his family, he may enjoy the celebrity which his travels in foreign parts will there procure him; or, ſhould he ever again be filled with ambitious views, and be tempted to forſake the happy life of a country gentleman, the '*ſomnus virorum levis agreſtium*,' for more noiſy and ſplendid ſcenes, we ſee no reaſon why he ſhould not ſhine at meetings aſſembled for addreſſes, or edify, on a bench of Juſtices, at the Seſſions.

"*Et de menſura jus dicere, vaſa minora*
Frangere, pannoſus vacuis Ædilis Ulubris."

ART. III. *An Hiſtorical View of Chriſtianity; containing Select Paſſages from Scripture; with a Commentary by the late Edward Gibbon, Eſq., and Notes by the late Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, Monſieur de Voltaire, and others.* London. Cadell & Davies. 1806.

ALL our orthodoxy was up in arms at the peruſal of this extraordinary title; and our alarm was not unmingled with horror, when, on turning the page, we found the work inſcribed to the Honourable and right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Durham. We wondered, for the third time, when we came to the notice prefixed to the work by the editor, in which he announces it as his ſerious intention, to prove the authenticity of Divine revelation from the teſtimony of its bittereſt enemies. In this ſame notice, he alſo informs us, that 'he does not preſume to aſſert that the preface is the compoſition of Mr Gibbon.' 'It appears, however,' ſays he, 'to be written as an introduction to his Commentary; and, if not by his pen, was probably the production of ſome friend, who had as much pleaſure in ſeeing him among the defenders of Chriſtianity, as the inhabitants of *Naioth* had in ſeeing Saul among the Prophets.' It is not likely that any of the readers of this preface will ſuſpect it of coming from the pen of Mr Gibbon. It contains, however, many proofs of the ſincere piety of the anonymous author, with a clear and ſuccinct ſtatement of the teſtimonies which are commonly adduced in ſupport of Revelation. Much of the reaſoning muſt be admitted to be unanſwerable, nor can it be neceſſary, at this time of day, to preſent our readers with any analyſis of it. A few premiſes, eſtabliſhed in rather an arbitrary manner, and a few concluſions not very logically drawn, might perhaps be pointed out; but where a work is deſigned to ſilence for ever the impertinent cavils of philoſophiſts, we may be permitted, after the example of ſo many of our brethren, to ſhut our eyes on ſuch trifling imperfections.

Impatient to behold the moſt celebrated infidels of the laſt century bearing unqueſtionable teſtimony in favour of religion, we turned eagerly from the peruſal of the preface to the work itſelf. Here we found, that certain ſelect paſſages from the Bible formed the text; that extracts from Gibbon's hiſtory furniſhed the commentary; and that a few ſcattered remarks from the pens of Bolingbroke, Voltaire, Hume, and the editor himſelf, ſupplied the notes. With all our anxiety for this laſt gentleman's undertaking, we could not help thinking that we had never ſeen a ſtranger medley; and we repeated the firſt lines of Horace's

Horace's Art of Poetry with an inward ſadneſs which we had never before experienced on a like occaſion. The firſt chapter is entitled, *On the Progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion.* It conſiſts of paſſages taken from St Mark, St Luke, and the Acts of the Apoſtles, in which the kingdom of God is likened to a grain of muſtard ſeed, and our Saviour announces to the Jews that the ſcripture is fulfilled in their ears. The commentary, if ſuch it can be called, is compoſed of various ſhreds and patches collected from the writings of Mr Gibbon, in which the hiſtorian has related the progreſs of Chriſtianity, and its diffuſion among the Gentile nations. We looked in vain, however, for that unequivocal and unexceptionable evidence, which the editor had told us, in his notice, had been given by Mr Gibbon in ſupport of Revelation. On the contrary, we met with much in his cutting ſarcaſms, and in his matchleſs but miſchievous irony, to wound the ſenſibility of Chriſtian devotion; while we found nothing in his ſtatement of facts to comfort and conſole it.

In acknowledging, that the faith was rapidly extended beyond the narrow circle in which it was firſt taught, the hiſtorian confeſſed what we do not recollect ever to have heard denied. It is not equally clear, however, that the admiſſion of this fact impreſſed his mind with a belief in the divine origin of Chriſtianity; nor are we convinced, that a judicious advocate in the cauſe of religion would pretend, that ſuch a belief was the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch an admiſſion. More than one falſe religion has ſpread with aſtoniſhing celerity; and the ſects which ſpring up every day, ſeem to prove a kind of aptitude in human nature for the reception of new doctrines. That the impoſtures of Mahomet were rapidly diffuſed, and readily received as truths, cannot well be diſputed, when we call to mind how ſhort a time elapſed from the period when he declared himſelf to be the Prophet of God to Kadijah, in the cave in Mount Hara, to the eſtabliſhment of his religion and authority in half the kingdoms of the eaſt. In our own times, we have heard of the progreſs of new ſects—of the Seiks in India, and of the Wahabees in Arabia. Nobody will argue from this, that their doctrines muſt be true. But perhaps the editor thought that Mr Gibbon's ſtatement confirmed, as far as his authority goes, the fulfilment of the prophecy contained in the parable of the grain of muſtard ſeed, in which our Saviour evidently alludes to the future progreſs, and the rapid and general diffuſion of his word. That the hiſtorian bears teſtimony to the fact of the rapid progreſs of Chriſtianity is undoubted; but, as we have already obſerved, this has never been conteſted; and it is not enough for the purpoſe of the editor, that Mr Gibbon admits it. When we have

to contend with infidels, we ſhould take care not to employ any ſlippery weapons which may drop from our hands. The infidel, who acknowledges that the prediction was accompliſhed, may ſtill deny the inſpiration which dictated it. That Chriſtianity aroſe from ſmall beginnings, he will ſay, was known to its founder; and he will aſk, if this prophecy of the future diſſemination of his doctrines be one, which can prove its author to have been divinely inſpired? Mahomet, he will add, in the ſeventh year of the Hegira, predicted that the ſplendour of the empire, which he ſhould found, would eclipſe that of the Perſian monarchy; and yet the hiſtorian, who might confeſs that the prediction was verified, would hardly expect to be told, that he thereby furniſhed unequivocal and unexceptionable evidence in favour of Iſlamiſm. We cannot, indeed, ſee either the prudence or the utility of putting ſo much ſtreſs upon this prophecy, which, though certainly fulfilled, or fulfilling, is not, ſo apparently at leaſt as ſome others, one of thoſe which bear the ſtamp of more than human knowledge, and which the uninſpired wiſdom of man could not have dictated. It is not like many others both in the Old Teſtament and in the New, which ſo mark the time, place, and circumſtance, that the infidel, in order to deny what they ſhould oblige him to confeſs, has no other reſource than the diſingenuous objection, that they were forged after the events had happened which they affected to predict.

The ſecond chapter is *on Polytheiſm*. It is made up of a tiſſue of quotations from the Bible. What the editor calls the commentary of Mr Gibbon, is compoſed from various unconnected paſſages, taken from the Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Theſe fragments, though beautiful in themſelves, make but a motley appearance in the ſtrange Moſaic into which they have been here wrought by the editor. What his purpoſe was, we are at a loſs to gueſs. Mr Gibbon has certainly expoſed the abſurdity of the vulgar creed of the Pagans with great eloquence; nor has he concealed the fanciful and contradictory opinions of the ſages of antiquity, on the moſt important queſtions of religion, on the providence of God, and on the immortality of the ſoul. He has not denied, that the deſcription of the infernal regions had been abandoned to the fancy of poets and painters; and he has ſpoken, as it might be expected a philoſopher would ſpeak, of the mob of deities that were adored by the ſuperſtitious populace. But what evidence is afforded by all this in ſupport of Chriſtianity? Does it follow, that he who expreſſes his contempt for one religion, thereby becomes a witneſs in favour of another? We ſhall be happy to be better inſtructed; but at preſent, we do not ſee

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any very clear logical inference, by which it may be made to appear, that, in ridiculing or cenſuring the ſuperſtitions of antiquity, Mr Gibbon has ſhewn himſelf to be the vindicator of revelation. Had it been true, indeed, that neither he, nor any other writer, had ventured to point their wit and their malice againſt the eſtabliſhed faith, their ſilence might have been charitably conſtrued in their favour; but we fear, that thoſe who may be too truly accuſed of attempting to throw ridicule on all religions, cannot be very fairly ſaid to have defended one, becauſe they have laughed at another.

The editor has furniſhed a note to this chapter, which has rather the air of being paradoxical. 'If I was,' (were) ſays he, 'to ſelect the perſon who, after St Paul, had, by his writings, moſt contributed to eſtabliſh and confirm the evidence of the Chriſtian religion, I ſhould, without hefitation, name the Emperor Julian.' The firſt impreſſion which the peruſal of this ſentence made upon our minds, was not very favourable to the author's ſincerity. After more mature reflection, however, we became in a great degree diſpoſed to adopt his opinion. We ſhall ſtate the train of thought which led to this change in our ſentiments.

It appears, from the little that we certainly know of its early hiſtory, that Polytheiſm was very widely diffuſed among the moſt ancient nations of which we have any authentic records. This is not the place to ſay any thing of its origin, which has been, and perhaps may be properly, attributed to various cauſes. It is enough for us to obſerve, that the harmony and unity, which ſhew themſelves in the ſcheme of nature, would probably ſoon bring irreſiſtible teſtimony againſt a plurality of gods, to thoſe men, who, as ſociety became more refined, had leiſure to ſtudy the magnificent and orderly ſyſtem of the univerſe. We may, however, conſider it as not leſs probable, that thoſe who governed ſtates, and influenced popular opinion, would fear to propoſe too rapid and too extenſive a change in the religious ſentiments of mankind. They would have recourſe to allegory, to fable, and to metaphor; would involve a ſimple religion in all the obſcurity of myſterious ſymbols; and would reſerve for a few the knowledge of their real doctrines. That the ſages of antiquity followed ſuch a courſe, will not appear unlikely, if we conſider their inſtitutions at Eleuſis and other places; the explanations which they gave of their fables; and the decided teſtimony which many of them have left of their pure and exalted notions of the Deity. While, however, they were fearful of ſhocking popular belief, by too plain an avowal of their ſentiments, they might have been labouring gradually to introduce a religion, which appeared to them to be conſonant with truth and nature.

The plan of the ancient mythology, accordingly, appears to have been contrived with great ſkill and beauty. It was a ſyſtem of nature, concealed under the veil of allegory. A thouſand fanciful fables contained a ſecret and myſtic meaning. The hiſtory of the revolutions of the phyſical world was interwoven with the fictions of the imagination; and the gods of the people, were conſidered by the ſtateſman and the philoſopher as ſymbols, emblems, or perſonifications, which were indicative, or illuſtrative of the ſyſtem of nature and the univerſe, as well as of the powers and attributes of that ſupreme Being who governs all things. The writings of ſome of the ancient philoſophers, and eſpecially of the later Platoniſts, fully develope and explain the beautiful ſyſtem of the Greek mythology. But this plan, however ſimple it might appear to enlightened and educated men, was only a ſcene of confuſion for the illiterate, and conſequently, much the greater portion of mankind. The meaning of the fable was overlooked, and the fable itſelf was religiouſly believed. Hiſtory was loſt in mythology; the marvellous was blended with every thing; and popular ſuperſtition, then, as always, was incapable of being ſufficiently glutted with improbabilities. The poets too, lent all the charms of their art, to the deluſions, the tales, and the fictions, which miſled the people. They embelliſhed the allegories, which concealed the ſyſtems of philoſophers; but they rendered the religion of the populace only the more monſtrous by their fanciful decorations.

Whatever, then, might have been the intentions of thoſe legiſlators and philoſophers, who firſt formed and conſtituted this allegorical religion, it is obvious, that all hopes of rendering it generally intelligible to the people muſt have been ſoon abandoned, if ſuch hopes were really ever entertained. The religious errors of the multitude were confirmed by their civil inſtitutions; were connected with the practice and cultivation of the moſt delightful of the arts, with poetry, painting, and ſculpture; and ſeemed to be ſanctioned by the general voice of mankind, the Greek and the barbarian, the philoſopher and the peaſant. It might, then, be deemed inexpedient to diſturb the repoſe of the world, by an expoſition of the abſurdities which were apparently revered by all, and which, in fact, were only ridiculed by a few. Enlightened men might conſider, that the progreſs of refinement would gradually produce, what it appears to have produced, a general indifference to the ancient ſuperſtitions. After the learning of Greece was cultivated by the Romans, more liberal notions were rapidly diffuſed among that warlike but incurious people; and it muſt be confeſſed, that, during the moſt flouriſhing period of the empire, the Pagan philoſopher might juſtly vaunt a freedom of ſpeculative

culative opinion, which has been unknown to ſucceeding ages. The contempt, which men of education felt, and frequently expreſſed for the vulgar creed, ſeems to have been gradually extended to all ranks. Even the people themſelves were already almoſt laughed out of their belief in Jupiter, Mercury, and Apollo, in the wars and the amours of their fabulous Gods, and in the lying oracles of Delphos and Dodona. But mankind in general are too prone to ſuperſtition to endure its abſence long; and the doctrine of pure monotheiſm was too ſubtle and refined for the ignorant and untaught multitude. The Romans became indifferent to the religion of their anceſtors, and yet were not the leſs ready to become dupes to new impoſtures. A lucrative trade was carried on by pretended magicians, fortune-tellers, and aſtrologers; by Chaldeans and Egyptians, who frequently attracted the attention of the magiſtrates, by their impoſitions and extortions. It is even not impoſſible, that the writings of Moſes, and perhaps the Goſpel itſelf, were conſulted by the ſame fanatics, who were accuſtomed to ſound the cymbal, and to ſhake the ſiſtrum, in the midnight orgies of Cybele and Iſis. While the ancient fabric of Paganiſm was thus inſenſibly melting away, any foreign God was yet welcomed to the Pantheon, and every kind of heathen worſhip was at once received and ridiculed at Rome.

Such was the ſtate of the capital of the empire, when it was firſt illumined by the light of Chriſtianity. That this divine religion was eagerly embraced by many, cannot be a matter of ſurpriſe to thoſe, who admit the accuracy of the ſtatement which we have juſt made. Human nature is ever prompt to inquire into ſubjects which are inſcrutable to the limited underſtanding of man; and thoſe, who found that their whole faith was founded on the fables of poets, or the conjectures of philoſophers, may well be ſuppoſed impatient to adopt a new creed, recommended by the ſanctity of thoſe who profeſſed it, by the important information which it revealed to the world, and by the miracles which accompanied its annunciation. The oppoſition which was made to the progreſs of Chriſtianity, proceeded from principles that were feeble, indeed, when compared with the ardour and enthuſiaſm which animated its diſciples. What could the wavering and inconſiſtent faith of the Pagans oppoſe to the reſolute determination of men, whoſe zeal was ever ready to brave the terrors of death and torments, and whoſe conviction was not to be ſhaken by the contempt or the rage of their adverſaries? The Chriſtians were indefatigable in gaining proſelytes. They aſtoniſhed the multitude by the hiſtory of prodigies; dazzled many by their deſcriptions of celeſtial enjoyments; alarmed more by the denunciation of eternal tortures; and probably amazed all by

by the confidence with which they proclaimed the approaching diſſolution of nature, and the coming of the kingdom of Heaven. The Pagan philoſophers long overlooked, or affected to overlook, the diſſemination of the new principles; and when they engaged in the controverſy, it was difficult for them to defend the ancient religion. To have maintained, that the polytheiſm of the people could be reconciled to truth, or even to probability, would have been to expoſe themſelves to the juſt reproaches of their enemies, and to furniſh them with weapons againſt them. To have admitted, that the exiſtence of the popular Gods of Greece and Rome was a fiction of the imagination; to have ſunk them into emblems of the phyſical elements; to have reſolved them into mere abſtractions; or to have denominated them ſymbols of the various attributes of a ſole and omnipotent Deity, would have been, in the eyes of the people, to have abandoned the cauſe of Paganiſm. Thoſe writers, who undertook to maintain the cauſe of the ancient religion, were, in fact, reduced to this dilemma. Paganiſm, as it was explained by philoſophers, was unintelligible to the vulgar;—as it was underſtood by the vulgar, it appeared ridiculous to philoſophers. In ſuch a caſe, the ſtruggle could not have been long, if the perſecutions, which the Chriſtians ſo often ſuffered, had not retarded their ſucceſs. When, from all the cauſes which we have ſtated, the prejudices of the people in favour of their ancient ſuperſtitions began to relax, it was, perhaps, already too late to attempt to revive their expiring veneration for the Gods of Olympus. It was much too late, after Chriſtianity had become the religion of the bulk of the people, and after it had been once eſtabliſhed by imperial authority. Perſecution could then only tend to inflame zeal, and exaſperate pride. To attempt to defend the abſurdities of the vulgar creed, was now become a ſure way of expoſing them the more. We may, indeed, wonder, that the philoſophic Julian ſhould have choſen this mode of oppoſing Chriſtianity; and inaſmuch as he endeavoured in his writings to vindicate the exploded ſuperſtitions of the people, it is probable, that he only thereby confirmed them the more in their attachment to their new religion.

While, however, we ſo far agree with the editor concerning the effects which were likely to be produced by the writings of the Emperor Julian, we cannot help obſerving, that it appears raſh to maintain, that an author, who laboured to reſtore Paganiſm, did more for Chriſtianity than all the ſaints of the Church who have written ſince the days of St Paul. This would almoſt ſeem to argue, that the weak reaſoning of thoſe who defended the ancient ſuperſtitions, had done more to promote the progreſs of true religion, than all the arguments of thoſe who profeſſed and taught it; and that Chriſtianity owed its eſtabliſhment rather

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to the abſurdity of the ſyſtem which it ſupplanted, than to its own intrinſic worth. We fully acquit the orthodox writer of the note (for orthodox we doubt not he is) of any intention to convey ſuch a meaning; but the experience of our lives has not helped to convince us, that the zealous are apt to be accurate, or the enthuſiaſtic prudent.

The third chapter is entitled, '*Of the Spirit of Chriſtianity*,' and commences with a quotation from St Luke. 'Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you, bleſs them that curſe you, and pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you. And to him that ſmiteth thee on one cheek, offer alſo the other; and him that taketh away thy cloak, forbid not to take away thy coat alſo.' The ſpirit of humility, charity, and reſignation, which is breathed in theſe ſentences, is indeed moſt amiable. If the perverſity of human nature render it difficult, or impoſſible, for us to follow theſe precepts in their literal ſenſe, the beauty of the moral theory, which they recommend, is not leſs conſpicuous; nor have they any tendency, when rightly underſtood, to produce a ſtate of ſociety, where we ſhould meet only with tyrants and robbers upon one hand, and patient and grateful ſufferers on the other.

The perſecutions which the Chriſtians ſhould ſuffer, are foretold in ſome of the texts; and thoſe which they had already begun to ſuffer, are deſcribed in other texts, which are ſtrung together in the fourth chapter of the work before us. We are of opinion, that the ſarcaſtic language of the Commentary, is much more likely to ſtrike its readers, than any evidence which it contains in ſupport of revelation. 'It has already been obſerved,' ſays Mr Gibbon, 'that the religious concord of the world was principally ſupported by the implicit aſſent and reverence which the nations of antiquity expreſſed for their reſpective traditions and ceremonies. *It might therefore be expected*, that they would unite with indignation againſt any ſect or people which ſhould ſeparate itſelf from the communion of mankind; and, claiming the excluſive poſſeſſion of divine knowledge, ſhould diſdain every form of worſhip, except its own, as impious and idolatrous.' This ſeems to us to be rather a ſtrange mode of bringing forward unequivocal and unexceptionable evidence in ſupport of religion. It does not appear to us to be the way to prove that a prophecy was of divine origin, to ſhow us, that what that prophecy foretold, was preciſely that which might have been expected.

The fifth chapter commences with ſome extracts from Geneſis, in which it is narrated, that God converſed with Abraham; that he made a covenant with him; that he gave him the name of Abraham, becauſe the Lord had made him the father of many nations;

nations; and that Abraham was ninety-nine years of age when he received the rite of circumciſion. Theſe extracts are followed by others from the New Teſtament, containing the prophecies of Chriſt concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and of the Temple, which had been rebuilt by Herod. Upon the firſt part of this chapter (for ſuch we ſhall call it out of courteſy), Mr Gibbon's commentary does not appear to throw much light. If it throw any, it is not upon the truth or fidelity of the hiſtory of Moſes. 'The contemporaries of Moſes and Joſhua,' ſays Mr Gibbon, 'had beheld, with careleſs indifference, the moſt amazing miracles. Under the preſſure of every calamity, the belief of thoſe miracles has preſerved the Jews of a later period from the univerſal contagion of idolatry; and, in contradiction to every known principle of the human mind, that ſingular people ſeems to have yielded a ſtronger and more ready aſſent to the traditions of their remote anceſtors, than to the evidence of their own ſenſes.' The incredulity of the Jews, amidſt the ſigns and the wonders, the miracles and the prodigies, which happened among them, is indeed one of the ſtumbling blocks, which the infidel is ever ready to pretend he cannot remove. In times when the Deity condeſcended to interpoſe his authority, in order to liberate the children of Iſrael from bondage; when he reverſed the order of nature; when he ſent famine, plague, and death, on the land of Egypt; when he divided the waves of the ſea for the ſake of his favoured people; and when he was accuſtomed to converſe familiarly with their leader; theſe blind and ungrateful Jews were ſcarcely leſs prone to idolatry than their heathen neighbours. After the revolution of ages, this ſame nation, although no longer witneſſing ſuch aſtoniſhing miracles, put implicit faith in the writings of Moſes, and were convinced by the very prodigies which failed to convince thoſe who were ſaid to have beheld them. All this muſt undoubtedly be confeſſed to be very ſurpriſing; and yet we are at a loſs to imagine, how, either in ſtating, or in inſinuating, the common objection of infidelity to the truth of the Moſaic hiſtory, any evidence can be ſaid to have been brought in its ſupport. Would not the time of the orthodox editor have been better employed in anſwering the objection (as we have no doubt he could do), than in producing it to the public, couched in the ironical language of Mr Gibbon?

The prediction of the deſtruction of the city and temple of Jeruſalem, is one of the moſt diſtinct in the ſacred volume. That it ſhould be ſo, may appear extraordinary to thoſe who conſider by whom the prophecy was made, and the ſmall importance of the event which it foretold. In the hiſtory of the world, and to the greater portion of the inhabitants of the globe, it ſeems, at firſt

firſt ſight at leaſt, to be of little conſequence, whether the capital of one of the moſt inſignificant provinces of the Roman empire ſhould ſtand or fall. But, let us take into conſideration the place where the prediction was made, and the circumſtances which attended it. Jeſus was approaching to Jeruſalem, where he was to announce his divine miſſion to the rulers of the people. He knew the fate that awaited him; and, as he beheld Jeruſalem, he wept over it, and apoſtrophized the ungrateful city in the moſt affecting and pathetic language. Its enemies, he foretold, ſhould caſt a trench about it, ſhould compaſs it round, and ſhould not leave one ſtone upon another, becauſe it knew not the time of its viſitation. The deſtruction of the temple, and the diſperſion of the Jews, are afterwards announced with equal accuracy; and Chriſt concludes with foretelling his ſecond appearance, and the ſigns which ſhall precede the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory. 'When ye ſee theſe things (ſaid he to his diſciples) come to paſs, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand. Verily, I ſay unto you, this generation ſhall not paſs away till all be fulfilled.'

A conſiderable part of the commentary upon theſe paſſages is furniſhed by Joſephus, with more propriety, we think, than could have been done from the works of Mr Gibbon. Our readers probably remember the inſidious obſervation of this laſt hiſtorian, whom the editor is pleaſed to call a defender of Chriſtianity, in alluſion, we believe, to the very words which we have juſt cited from the Scripture. 'The revolution of ſeventeen centuries has inſtructed us not to preſs too cloſely the myſterious language of prophecy and revelation.'

We have ſaid, that the commentary upon the text has been ſupplied with more propriety in this place from the hiſtory of Joſephus than from that of Mr Gibbon: but we do not mean by this to declare our approbation of the commentary. The relation which Joſephus has given of the ſiege of Jeruſalem, has too much of that kind of colouring which is better adapted to a romance than a hiſtory. He aſſerts, that the moſt ſhocking cruelties were committed by the Roman ſoldiers, which the humane Titus lamented but did not prevent; and he pretends, that eleven hundred thouſand Jews periſhed, during this dreadful ſiege, which muſt have been more bloody than any that is recorded in the annals of the world. We ſhould not, however, have taken notice of the exaggerations of the goſſiping Joſephus, if he had not affirmed, 'that the divine ſentence had *long ſince* condemned the temple to the fire.' Now, as Joſephus was a Jew, ſteadily attached to the faith of his nation, and as he conſequently

ſequently rejected the Goſpel, it is evident, that he affected, in this paſſage, to refer to ſome prediction which exiſted before the time of our Saviour. For it will not ſurely be pretended that he underſtood the divine ſentence to have been pronounced by Jeſus of Nazareth, ſince, as Tillotſon remarks, he ſeems to have avoided as much as he could, the very mention of the Chriſtian name; and ſince it is generally admitted, that the paſſage in his work, containing an account of Chriſt, is a manifeſt forgery. We cannot, therefore, help admiring how the orthodox editor of the volume before us ſhould have brought forward Joſephus as a commentator on the words of the text, when it muſt be clear, that he did not mean to attribute the prophecy to its real author.

The remaining part of the commentary to this fifth and laſt chapter, is ſupplied by Mr Gibbon. This hiſtorian mentions the unſucceſsful attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple, and relates, with an honourable impartiality, the events which are ſaid to have impeded the impious undertaking of the imperial apoſtate. We muſt leave this ſtory, however, of the earthquake, the whirlwind, and the fiery eruption, which overturned and ſcattered the foundations of the new temple, to be examined by bolder critics. For our own parts, we conceive that nothing can be ſo injudicious as to reſt the evidence of Chriſtianity in any degree upon ſuch a legend, and really have little more reſpect for the prodigies of Marcellinus, than for thoſe of Livy or of Plutarch.

Of the notes which are ſubjoined from Hume, Bolingbroke, and Voltaire, we have thought it unneceſſary to ſay any thing hitherto, becauſe we honeſtly confeſs they do not appear to us to contain any evidence at all in ſupport of revelation. We cannot, indeed, eaſily conceive what ſhould have induced the orthodox editor to ſeek for ſuch evidence in ſuch writers. Hume merits all our praiſe as a profound thinker; and the elegance of his ſtyle will long recommend him to readers who can comprehend nothing of his philoſophy. Among all thoſe, however, who, as they read, ſit wondering for a meaning, we have never met with one who expected to find any evidence brought forward by David Hume in ſupport of Chriſtianity. The talents and eloquence of Bolingbroke, in like manner, are generally admitted and admired; but his philoſophy was ſhallow; nor ſhould we think it of much importance to the cauſe of religion to prove that he had argued in its favour. That he has ever ſeriouſly done ſo, we muſt be permitted to doubt. On the contrary, his language, when he ſpeaks of religious matters, is often

often highly intemperate and indecorous. Every body knows that what are called his philoſophical works, contain much more declamation againſt Chriſtian teachers, if not againſt Chriſtianity itſelf, than ſound philoſophy; and Bolingbroke appears to have dreaded the judgment which might be pronounced on his eſſays, which he left to be publiſhed by Mallet after his death. Dr Johnſon, with a degree of warmth which can be excuſed only on one ſide of the queſtion, and certainly with more force than urbanity, called him a raſcal and a coward,—a raſcal who had charged a blunderbuſs againſt Chriſtianity; and a coward, who had hired a hungry Scotchman to draw the trigger. With reſpect to Voltaire, we muſt own, we little expected ever to ſee his name in the liſt of the defenders of revelation. His light and playful ridicule, his ready and brilliant wit, his acute and lively mind, muſt ever be admired; and we are not ſo moroſe as to quarrel with all his works, becauſe he wrote too freely in ſome of them, and too ſuperficially in others. We lament ſincerely, indeed, that he ſhould have ſo often lent his aid in the cauſe of infidelity; and we lament it the more, that in ſpite of all the declamations againſt them, his works are read by every man who pretends to any kind of education in Europe. Theſe feelings have not been changed by the notes which the orthodox editor has adduced from his writings, to prove, that Voltaire was a witneſs who might be cited to bring evidence in ſupport of religion. Among theſe notes we find a few lines from the tragedy of *Alzire*. Was this introduced to ſhow the reading or the judgment of the editor? it certainly no more proves Voltaire to have had any religious belief, than the ſpeeches of Macbeth would prove Shakeſpear to have had the conſcience of a murderer and a regicide.

After having made ſo many remarks, and at ſuch length, on the ſingular publication before us, it may be expected that we ſhould finally pronounce judgment upon it. As the intention of the editor appears to have been good, and as his preface is written with conſiderable acumen in ſupport of the good cauſe, we ſhould be unwilling to ſpeak unfavourably of a work, which has no doubt coſt him much time and labour. We cannot, however, in conſcience, recommend it to him to proceed in his taſk, as he intimates ſome intention of doing. On the contrary, we muſt ſay that we heartily diſapprove of the plan and execution of the work now before us. No man in his ſober ſenſes can believe that any ſincere or ſerious evidence in favour of Chriſtianity, can be wrung out of the writings to which this author has made reference. If the attempt was made to ſhew his ingenuity, we muſt be permitted to ſay, that the ſubject is a great deal too

ſacred and important to be diſturbed by ſuch experiments: and if he really imagined that he was ſtrengthening the cauſe of revelation by a new ſpecies of attack on its adverſaries, we can only ſay that his judgment is infinitely leſs than his learning or his induſtry.

It is our peculiar felicity in this iſland, that while infidelity has made ſuch lamentable progreſs on the Continent, we ſtill continue ſtedfaſt, in general, to the faith of our anceſtors. The ſplendid endowments of the hierarchy in Catholic countries, has ſcarcely been able to maintain the exterior forms of devotion among the higher claſſes. The prieſthood itſelf is, in many places, infected with the ſame contagion; and a recent traveller has recorded, that when he was at Rome, he obſerved a ſmile of contempt upon the countenances of ſeveral of the cardinals, in the midſt of the moſt ſolemn offices. There are yet no ſuch examples among us: the writings of infidels have made little impreſſion in this country; and we have as little to fear, we think, from the philoſophy, as from the arms of our enemies. In ſuch a ſituation, we do not think it prudent to familiarize the ears of our youth with their names and their writings, nor to reſort to their pages for proofs of the truths they denied. Inconſiſtencies may no doubt be detected in their ſtatements, and advantage may be taken of their admiſſions, to refute the concluſions they would impreſs. But theſe advantages we reap moſt effectually, when we treat them as adverſaries; it is a dangerous and indecent frolic to affect to deal with them as auxiliaries; and, in point of fact, it would be juſt as eaſy to prove, that St Paul was a defender of Paganiſm, as that Mr Gibbon was a champion of Chriſtianity.

ART. IV. *An Excurſion to the Highlands of Scotland and the Engliſh Lakes, with Recollections, Deſcriptions, and References to Hiſtorical Facts.* 8vo. pp. 290. Mawman. London, 1805.

THIS is paſt all enduring. Here is a tour, *travelled, written, publiſhed, ſold*, and, for any thing we know, *reviewed* by one and the ſame individual! We cannot ſubmit patiently to this monſtrous monopoly: and are impelled, by a fellow feeling for thoſe induſtrious perſons, whoſe livings and multiplied functions have been engroſſed by this arch pluraliſt, to remonſtrate ſomewhat loudly againſt ſuch a dangerous innovation. A cotton-mill, which rolls, cards, and ſpins at the ſame inſtant, is a machine leſs dreadful to the inſulated induſtry of individuals, than an author and a traveller like Mr Mawman; and unleſs ſomething can be done

done to reſtore the ancient diſtinction of ranks and ſubdiviſions of labour, we foreſee nothing but the moſt dreadful confuſion, and the moſt ruinous diſſenſions in the great commonwealth of letters.

It may be ſuggeſted, indeed, that this dangerous example is not very likely to be followed, as few bookſellers can be ſuppoſed equal to the extraordinary exertions of the individual before us. This is probably true; but when one houſe happens to poſſeſs a long liſt of partners, they may, by diſtributing the different departments among themſelves, accompliſh, as a corporation, what Mr Mawman, by ſuperior proweſs, has achieved in his own perſon. They may have their travelling partner, their writing partner, and their reviewing partner; and it will be but fair that the firſt of theſe, who in ſummer is migratory, ſhould in winter become torpid, and be a ſleeping partner. In whatever way it is managed, however, the conſequence is plain; when bookſellers become authors, 'the occupation' of the latter claſs 'is gone:' and indeed, we think it but a duty to ſay, that if the experiment ſhould be perſiſted in, we cannot anſwer for the perſonal ſafety of thoſe who, by depriving them of bread, let looſe a hoſt of journeymen writers, in whom the fury of hunger is ſuperadded to the 'fine frenzy' of inſpiration. Mr Mawman ſhould remember the perils which attend the monopoliſt: Or, as Joſephus expreſſes it, (we will not affront a brother author by tranſlating)—
Τας μονωσεις τοις αρχουσιν επικινδυνους ειναι.

The peace of the metropolis was lately endangered by the theatrical inſurrections of the tailors. But what were the outrages dreaded from theſe heroes, compared with the uproar which may be expected, when the famiſhed inhabitants of Grub-Street iſſue from their hive, and brandiſh their pen-knives againſt the privileged order of Paternoſter-row? *Diverſa omnium quæ unquam accidere civilium armorum facies.* Being more reſourceleſs than any other deſcription of men, they will be proportionally more deſperate. They are too awkward for the army: and though, from practice in climbing and living aloft, they may be thought better qualified for the navy, yet, alas! it is the able-bodied, not the able-minded, who meet with encouragement there. In lawleſs occupations they have almoſt as little chance of ſucceſs. For the highway they have no courage; and are generally deficient in that faſhionable appearance and addreſs, without which the picking of pockets can rarely be carried on to advantage. In this forlorn and hopeleſs ſtate, the labouring peaſantry of the fields of literature ſeem to have no alternative left, but to avail themſelves of their numbers, and combine to prevent the venders from becoming alſo the growers of wiſdom.

Mr Mawman is too valiant, perhaps, to be moved by conſiderations of this nature; but we cannot help thinking that the ſcheme upon which he has fallen, is likely to be as unprofitable to his purſe, as we conceive it to be perilous to his perſon. Upon cool calculation, we believe that experienced tradeſmen will not deny that, for a fifth part of what his journey coſt,—a few Sunday dinners, and the loan from his ſhop of Pennant's tour, and Sir John Sinclair's Statiſtical Account, he could have procured from ſome ingenious gentleman, who had no occaſion to ſtir from his apartments in the King's Bench, a town-made article of a more ſaleable texture than that which he has himſelf produced. But if Mr Mawman, from a ſingular ſqueamiſhneſs of conſcience, ſhould unreaſonably inſiſt that a country ought to be ſeen before it is deſcribed, and adventures met with before they are related, ſtill he might have enliſted ſome literary recruit, who, with his knapſack on his ſhoulders, and the occaſional aid of the waggon, (which even Mr Holcroft, when traveller for a London houſe, did not diſdain), would have performed the march on very ſlender pay; and, though he could not have excited a reader's intereſt by the ariſtocratic diſaſters of a broken down chaiſe or a ſulky driver, might have claimed his ſympathy by as piteous a tale of torn ſhoes or empty pockets.

Upon the whole, we truſt that Mr Mawman, from conſiderations of ſafety, humanity, and economy, will be moderate at leaſt in the future uſe of his powers; and will not imitate the cuſtom of theſe revolutionary days, by forcing a new conſtitution upon the republic of letters. Let him leave unviolated its old gradation of ranks, and not attempt, like emperors of ancient and modern notoriety, to unite every office in his own perſon. One of the worſt of theſe made uſe of the following language, which, although it had but little influence on its hypocritical author, will, we hope, be adopted with ſincerity by Mr Mawman, to whom it appears extremely applicable. *Se in parte curarum* (viz. bookſelling) *experiendo didiciſſe quam arduum, quam ſubjectum fortunæ regendi cuncta onus: proinde, in civitate tot illuſtribus viris ſubnixâ, non ad unum omnia deferrent. Plures facilius munia reipublicæ ſocietatis laboribus exſecuturos.*

The map prefixed to this volume is a faithful repreſentation of what the latter contains. It reſembles thoſe which we find in books of poſt-roads; and is merely a longitudinal ſection of the map of Britain, embracing the two great roads from London to Glaſgow. Over the eaſtermoſt of theſe, Mr Mawman poſted with great rapidity, travelling frequently during the night, with a view, perhaps, to a more varied delineation of the country. Having extended his route to Inverary, about forty miles beyond Glaſgow,

gow, he returned by the weſt road, with equal ſpeed, to publiſh his obſervations, having completed the tour within the limited period of a ſummer month. No travels, we will venture to ſay, of which an account was intended to be written, were ever performed in a ſhorter period. We know of nothing but the mail-coach that could have kept pace with our author.

Mr Mawman begins his book with the following claſſical and moral ſentence.

'On the 10th day of July 1804, two citizens, deſigning to take a journey into Scotland, quitted their habitations in the heart of that metropolis, whoſe merchants, from its extenſive commerce, are more important and more honourable than thoſe of any other in the world.'

This outſet could not fail of bringing to our minds the renowned and facetious traveller Mr John Gilpin. In rapidity of movement, the chariot-racer of the Poultry reſembles very cloſely the equeſtrian hero of Cheapſide. Both travellers took the ſame road; and, though Mr Gilpin's tour was conſiderably ſhorter than Mr Mawman's, yet it has the counterbalancing advantage of being recorded in rhime, ſo that the former may be compared to a highly finiſhed miniature, and the latter to a cartoon.

The travelling companion whom Mr Mawman ſelected, was a fellow citizen, of whoſe name we are not informed, but who, we underſtand, was 'a linen-draper bold;' and in this alſo we admire our author's judgement; for, as *etiquette* requires that a modern tour ſhould contain ſome account of the manufactures in the country where it is made, and as Mr Mawman may be ſuppoſed to have devoted his attention chiefly to the manufacture of books, it was prudent in him to ſelect a coadjutor who could furniſh notices of the reſt.

'One of the beſt legacies,' ſays Mr Mawman, 'which man can bequeath to poſterity, is a book enlivened with innocent merriment, or ſtored with information of ſolid and extenſive utility.' Without diſputing whether Mr Mawman's heirs would be of the ſame opinion, and whether he might not leave certain legacies which they would value more than even the property of his book, we ſhall take this ſentence as the author's deſcription of his own work, and proceed to conſider what information or merriment it affords.

When Mr Mawman enters Cambridgeſhire, through a corner of which the north road paſſes, he informs us that the county town is the ſeat of an univerſity; and that, in his opinion, univerſities are highly beneficial to the cultivation of literature. This intelligence ſome faſtidious readers may be diſpoſed to undervalue as defective in originality. In a following page, however, they will be highly gratified to find, that Mr Mawman diſcovered *the*

tombs in York-Minſter to have been erected by no leſs a perſonage than *Death*. 'While we were here viewing the tombs,' ſays he, 'thoſe trophies *erected by Death*, to record his triumphs over mortality,' &c. Of the Minſter itſelf, he is pleaſed to obſerve, that if it were ſeated upon an elevation like that of Lincoln, it would be ſeen at a greater diſtance. Upon his approach to Bawtry, Mr Mawman ſeems to have been terribly frightened by the ſight of a malefactor hanging in chains; and exclaims againſt exhibitions of this nature, with a fervour which is truly poetical. 'Why,' he feelingly aſks, 'ſhould the innocent traveller be alarmed in the midſt of ſecurity? Why ſhould he be conſtrained *to feed, as it were, upon mangled bodies!* and to have his mind filled with a recollection of frightful crimes, and horrible cataſtrophes?' When near Stamford, he obligingly copies the following notice from his road-book: 'On the right hand is Burleigh Hall, a manſion highly celebrated for its pictures, which we regreted *we had not time* to inſpect.' He takes advantage, however, of this approximation, to fill ſeveral pages with a ſtory of the late Lord Exeter's ſecond marriage, which we recollect having ſeen in all the newſpapers at the time of his Lordſhip's death.

Mr Mawman is not very partial to Scotland. He quotes Churchill as ſoon as he croſſes the Border; and is pleaſed to obſerve, that 'the women of the lower claſſes are *univerſally* ſhort and brawny, with arid ſkins, and tarniſhed complexions, and without any pretenſions to beauty.' This is about as accurate as what he ſays of his not being able to find, in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, 'a ſingle female who buys this day's meal with the price of laſt night's ſin.' Such, however, is his confirmed impreſſion of the uglineſs of our Scottiſh damſels, that upon meeting a plump well-looking girl at Dumbarton, he could not reſiſt inquiring whether ſhe was not a native of England, and was delighted to find that ſhe had come as a ſervant from that happy region: It is alſo ſet down, that 'ſhe ſaid her mother would be very angry with her, if informed that ſhe walked without ſhoes and ſtockings!'

On entering the Highlands, Mr Mawman is ſeized with that fever of the ſpirits which is ſo apt to attack all touriſts who travel with a view to publication, and breaks out into the following turbulent deſcription.

'Mountain after mountain deſtitute of trees, contiguous in poſition, but irregularly *rolling without intermiſſion* or apparent termination; and the wide lakes ſtretching boldly up the country, amidſt the branching chains of naked hills; yet in all the "rude and indigeſted" maſs, reſembling what we may ſuppoſe Chaos to have been (if we might believe

lieve the tales of poets) after the recent ſeparation of its elements, before the hand of Order had arranged it into its preſent ſymmetry, the eye finds nothing repellent, but is ſtruck with the ſimple magnificence of nature, exhibiting in ſublime variety her ſtupendous monuments.' p. 123—24.

In ſpite of theſe raptures, however, he is candid enough to confeſs, that the country is not very much to his taſte; and contraſts the comforts of his town life, with the horrors of a Highland reſidence, in the true tone of a citizen,—or 'a waiting gentlewoman.'

'It will not appear ſurpriſing, that two travellers from the ſouth, living in the boſom of ſociety, with little knowledge of the amuſements of fiſhing, ſhooting, and hunting; and contraſting theſe *cold* and *laborious* ſports with the gay vivacity of routes, plays, and operas, and, above all, the melancholy ſolitude of theſe forlorn wilds with the irreſiſtible charm of literary intercourſe, alternately elegant and profound, ſhould be aſtoniſhed to find an enlightened perſon ſpending his entire twelvemonth in ſuch a ſituation, without the operation of ſome ſtrong motive, little leſs than compulſion. p. 132—33.

Of the Highland women, he ſpeaks with horror and compaſſion. 'Their features,' he ſays, 'were hardened by expoſure to the cold blaſts of winter, and contracted into a moſt unſightly grin by labour, ſoured by want and miſery, and oppreſſed with deep dejection of ſpirits.'

Mr Mawman returns by the Falls of the Clyde, with which he appears, if he would confeſs the truth, to have been more terrified than delighted. He indemnifies himſelf, however, when he gets out of their hearing, by compoſing a magnificent parallel between the courſe of the river and the life of man. As this, we think, is the moſt ſplendid and elaborate paſſage in the whole volume, we beg leave to extract it entire for our reader's admiration.

'But this is only the infancy of the Clyde, whoſe courſe may be compared to that of human life. In childhood man is feeble; with his years his ſtrength increaſes, and he gives the promiſe of mighty powers; then comes the meridian of life, when, hurried by impetuous paſſions, and roufed by war or the chaſe, he ruſhes through woods, and *down precipices*, with irreſiſtible impetuoſity. But anon, his ſpirits begin to flag, and his activity ſlackens: he moves with leaden pace, bending toward the grave, his body dull and heavy, "faſhioned for the journey;" and, finally, he is ſwallowed up in the ocean of eternity. So it is with the Clyde; here it riſes, ſilently and weakly creeping forward: in its progreſs, "ſwollen with many a tributary tide," it glories in its wild career, through foreſts, and over rocks, and down the ſubliméſt ſteeps; then does its force abate, and it moves with leſſened activity by Glaſgow, Dumbarton, and Greenock, till it is loſt in the boundleſs deep!' p. 193. 94.

We look upon this as a very exquiſite piece of fine writing. The author, to be ſure, in the ardour of compoſition, ſeems at one time to have miſtaken the man for the river, when he makes him ruſh through woods, and down *precipices*, with ſo noble an impetuoſity; but the parallel is executed, upon the whole, with infinite ſpirit and fidelity; and the concluding view of the river paſſing by Glaſgow, Dumbarton, and Greenock, is not only a noble picture of itſelf, but muſt be admitted to furniſh a very ſtriking ſimilitude of the ſymptoms of human decrepitude.

At the Lakes, Mr Mawman is terribly fatigued, by a ride from Keſwick to Buttermere; but his appetite is ſo much improved by the exerciſe, that he is pleaſed to inform us, as a very rare and memorable occurrence, that 'he fed, not for the ſake of eating, but from the impulſe of nature, and ſwallowed with avidity.' He laments, however, that no wine was to be procured, and that he and his friend were obliged to regale themſelves with ſhrub and water. The extreme homelineſs of this repaſt ſeems to have ſet them a philoſophizing in a very edifying manner.

'In the courſe of converſation we obſerved, that the Egyptians ſeem to have thought that land the beſt, which 'flowed with milk and honey;' that in the opinion of the Greeks, the internal uſe of honey, and oil applied to the ſurface of the body, were highly conducive to health; and that the Goths, our anceſtors, devoured their meat half raw, ſuppoſing the juices to contain the beſt nouriſhment. In many reſpects, thoſe who have preceded us were probably wiſer than ourſelves. We ſubſtitute tea for milk, prefer made diſhes to plain meat, and load our ſtomachs with drugs and ſtimulants, inſtead of the wholeſome diet which ſatisfied the ſimpler appetites of our uncourtly forefathers.' p. 225-26.

Mr Mawman is much ſtruck with the beauty and elegant manners of the mountaineers of Cumberland; and very philoſophically ſuppoſes, that 'their manners have been improved by copying thoſe of the travellers who viſit their lakes!'

The homeward journey is very rapidly ſketched. The author's heart warms when he comes in ſight of the ſmoke of London; and he burſts out into the following invidious compariſon.

'We reflected with delight on our change of proſpect: we contraſted the cultivated fields, the winding rivers, the picturesque ruins, the fine cities, the mighty mountains, the extenſive lakes, the tremendous waterfalls, the rich verdure of England, with the wild and ſteril ſublimity of the Scotiſh Highlands.' p. 289.

Now, we cannot ſubmit tamely to this trait of Engliſh nationality. Mr Mawman may contraſt the cultivated fields, and rich verdure of his country, with our heaths and hollows, as triumphantly as he pleaſes; but, for mighty mountains, extenſive lakes, and tremendous waterfalls, we boldly challenge all England to produce

produce any thing like our Highlands. On his entry into London, Mr Mawman admires the grandeur of Finſbury Square, and 'hides his head in the midſt of ſmoke, of toil, and of heart-rending jealouſies.'

Upon the whole, Mr Mawman may perceive, that we regard him as a very formidable rival in the department of literature; and that, in reſenting his intruſion into a craft, of which we are freemen, we are perfectly aware of the talents by which he might endanger the livelihood and reputation of many of its moſt induſtrious members. We flatter ourſelves, however, that he will be ſatisfied with the diſplay he has now made of them; and that, as we have done our endeavour to extend the circle of his admirers, he will allow himſelf to be moved by our earneſt remonſtrances, and make it a matter of conſcience, not to take the bread out of the mouths of his authors, nor to ruin the myſtery of book-making, by combining it with a much more lucrative occupation.

ART. V. *An Inquiry into the Syſtem of National Defence in Great Britain.* By John Macdiarmid Eſq. In Two Volumes 8vo. London. C. & R. Baldwin. 1805.

THE taſk of protecting a nation from external violence becomes gradually more difficult as mankind advance in improvement. While the ſupreme authority of government affords no ſure protection to individuals, war is neceſſarily the chief occupation of the community. As all are liable to be called upon to repel the attack of an enemy, they inſenſibly become proficients in the uſe of arms; and being perpetually engaged in ſcenes of internal hoſtility, they acquire all thoſe habits of mind which the circumſtances in which they are placed ſo peculiarly require. As ſociety advances, however, the neceſſity of acquiring warlike habits is ſuperſeded by the introduction of order and ſubordination; and thoſe peaceful purſuits by which ſociety is improved and adorned, riſe to a correſponding degree of eſtimation and importance.

In theſe circumſtances, men degenerate from the hardy virtues of their anceſtors; the accompliſhments of a warrior being no longer univerſally neceſſary, are gradually neglected; and the great body of the people become comparatively effeminate, and wholly incapable of reſiſting the attack of a reſolute invader. For the partial evils thus reſulting to ſociety from a change ſo eminently beneficial, it is the buſineſs of the ſtateſman to provide a ſuitable remedy. For this purpoſe there ſeem to be but two me-

thods; either to enforce generally among the people the practice of military exercises, and thus forcibly to preserve a peculiar state of manners, after the circumstances from which they naturally arose have passed away; or to entrust the general defence to a distinct class of the community, to be maintained by the state, and to direct their whole attention to this important object. It is evidently impossible to determine in which of those two ways a nation is likely to add most materially to its effective strength, without first considering, whether the events of war depend principally on the respective numbers of the troops engaged, or on their relative courage and discipline. If superiority of numbers be the only condition necessary to ensure success, then, undoubtedly, those military establishments are the most perfect in which the greatest proportion of the population of a country is included. If, on the contrary, it is allowed, that the quality of the troops engaged is the essential consideration, then we are necessarily led to inquire, on what moral or physical qualities the perfection of military force depends, and how far those who are engaged in different pursuits, and occasionally devote a portion of their time to military exercises, can be expected to acquire the necessary qualifications of a soldier's character. It is difficult to conceive on what other principles an inquiry into the military policy of a state can be instituted, with the least prospect of conducting it to a satisfactory conclusion.

The design of the work before us, as stated by its author, is to inquire into the propriety of the system of national defence adopted in Britain; but so ingeniously has Mr Macdiarmid contrived to escape from his subject, that although we have carefully perused his performance, we can by no means pretend to lay before our readers any satisfactory account of his object, or his views. His genius, indeed, appears to delight in digression, and to wanton and exult in the agility of its transitions. The greater part of his work is filled with a variety of heterogeneous details, loosely patched together, with lame and incoherent reasonings; and we have found it altogether impossible to discern, in the succession of his thoughts, the slightest tendency to any fixed order or arrangement.

It certainly is not very easy to conceive how minute scraps of information, collected from the writings of authors who have laboured in the most opposite departments of literature, should, by any ingenuity, be made to centre in one point. An inquiry into the system of national defence adopted in Britain, would not, we should imagine, necessarily lead the writer to consult Reid on the Active Powers, Barrow's Travels in China, Thomson's Seasons, or the Report of a Committee on the State

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of the Coal Trade; nor, indeed, can we fully comprehend the importance of many of the facts which Mr Macdiarmid has gleaned from these unpromising sources. It does not appear to us that we shall enter upon the subject of the national defence with any very great additional advantage, by being previously informed, that, 'in China, our sailors have paid for a ham, and received a piece of wood so dexterously shaped and coloured, that the imposition was not suspected;' that at a Roman entertainment, 'an immense dish of nightingale's tongues was served up as one of the courses,' or that the 'goldsmith, the shoemaker, or tailor, who gives himself out as tradesman to some branch of the royal family, derives no peculiar protection, and generally no custom, from these patrons.' Facts, however, equally interesting and important, are interspersed throughout the whole of Mr Macdiarmid's voluminous performance. He has exerted himself with indefatigable industry, in bringing together an immense collection of details and reasonings, which, as they point to no determinate object, it is quite impossible in any way to connect or arrange, and which he has consequently jumbled together, in the most loose and incoherent manner. He seems, indeed, to have surrendered his mind entirely to the guidance of casual associations, and to have straggled, as chance directed him, into the most extraneous discussions.

His views on the subject of national defence, are founded on an absurd and incorrect analogy, and are on that account extremely partial, and liable indeed to radical objections, which, in the execution of his work, he has rather aggravated than lessened, by his constant propensity to the most prolix and unsatisfactory details. From the following passage, which contains the author's own exposition of his plan, the reader may form some conception of the general character and tendency of the work.

'A system of national defence (he observes) is to a nation, in regard to other nations, what a system of police is to an individual, in regard to the other members of the same community. The object of both, is to secure the persons and property of a people against violence.

'But as long as violence continues to be attempted, there are no other means by which the inhabitants of a country can assert either their national or their individual security, unless by either sacrificing, injuring, or exposing to injury, a portion of the persons and property which are intended to be preserved. But, in as far as a portion of the persons and property of a people is sacrificed to maintain the system of national defence, or the system of police, the end proposed by these systems is frustrated. They are intended to preserve from injury the persons

perſons and property of the community; and therefore, in as far as they produce injury to theſe perſons and this property, they counteract the very purpoſe for which they are eſtabliſhed. A ſyſtem of national defence, or a ſyſtem of police, muſt therefore be perfect, in proportion as it affords the greateſt ſecurity againſt violence, with the leaſt injury to the perſons and property which it is intended to protect.'

Mr Macdiarmid, after obſerving that, in general, the injury ariſing to nations from thoſe eſtabliſhments which they are compelled to maintain, in order to defend themſelves from external violence, have tended very perceptibly to encroach upon their population and their wealth, next proceeds to ſtate, that it is the object of his work 'to diſcover, if poſſible, the means of averting a ſimilar ruin from Great Britain, and of rendering her ſecure againſt external violence, without diminiſhing her internal proſperity.'

It is perfectly obvious, that, according to this plan, the capital queſtion, whether a ſyſtem of national defence be adequate to the attainment of its propoſed end, will be only conſidered incidentally, or along with other points which, in Mr Macdiarmid's eſtimation, are equally intereſting and important. If it be true, indeed, that ſtates have been frequently brought to ruin by applying too great a proportion of their reſources to the maintenance of warlike eſtabliſhments, then, undoubtedly, there are two objects which a wiſe ſtateſman, in providing for the defence of a nation, will have equally in view. He will not conſider ſecurity againſt external violence as the principal end to be attained: the arrangements which he may conceive neceſſary for the ſafety of the ſtate, will be conſiderably modified by the apprehenſion of encroaching too deeply on her internal opulence and proſperity. The ſlighteſt glance at the records of hiſtory, however, we apprehend, will demonſtrate that nations have been frequently ruined by the inefficiency, but never by the burden, of their warlike eſtabliſhments; and that, in thoſe few ſtates where an efficient ſyſtem of military policy has been adopted, its ſuperiority has been invariably manifeſted by the humiliation of rival powers. It is, beſides, perfectly clear, that where one ſtate is ſolely intent on the improvement of its warlike reſources, and renders its opulence and proſperity wholly ſubſervient to that object, every neighbouring community muſt adopt a ſimilar policy, however materially it may interfere with the progreſs of internal improvement.

The comparative ſtability which the kingdoms of modern Europe continued for ſuch a length of time to enjoy, muſt be partly aſcribed to that general ſimilarity in their manners, and in the circumſtances

circumſtances in which they were placed, which, by uniting them in cloſe and intimate relations, ſubjected each to the conſtant obſervation of its neighbours, and rendered it impoſſible for any one to circumſcribe, within its own frontier, the beneficial effects of any important diſcovery or improvement. Hence the maintenance of ſtanding armies, (an improvement which, in the ancient world, being confined to one particular ſtate, was generally the forerunner of the moſt important revolutions,) was introduced into modern Europe, not only without any of thoſe ſignal changes which it had formerly produced, but without even materially deranging the mutual relations of its various ſtates. Had England, however, been enabled, by her ſuperior opulence and improvement, to maintain a ſtanding army ſo early as the 12th or 13th century, it is extremely probable, that her monarchs muſt have ultimately ſucceeded in effecting the complete conqueſt of France. The firſt and only object, therefore, of every ſyſtem of national defence, is ſecurity; and, until we are aſſured how far it is likely to attain this its eſſential end, all other conſiderations muſt be diſregarded. Every rich nation has indeed a choice between two alternatives, either to provide a force competent to repel foreign aggreſſion, whatever it may coſt, or to hold its independence at the mercy of a more powerful neighbour. The object, therefore, which Mr Macdiarmid has in view, namely, to render Britain ſecure, without diminiſhing her internal proſperity, appears to us to be completely unattainable. Does he imagine that Britain can be defended without expence? Or, that the taxes which it may be neceſſary to impoſe for the maintenance of her warlike eſtabliſhments, will not tend to obſtruct her advancement in opulence? We are completely at a loſs to conceive how he can propoſe to illuſtrate his ſubject by tedious diſcuſſions relative to national proſperity in general. It was his buſineſs merely to conſider how far the ſyſtem of defence adopted in Britain, was calculated to add to the effective ſtrength of the nation. Inſtead of which, he has rambled into the moſt idle and unprofitable digreſſions.

In his firſt chapter, he enters into a variety of weariſome details, for the purpoſe of proving that Britain is rapidly advancing in wealth and improvement. Her agriculture, according to Mr Macdiarmid, is, '*as yet*, in its infancy;' and he ſhews, by the unerring calculations of political arithmetic, that nearly one half of the iſland is either completely waſte, or 'cultivated in ſuch a manner as to be extremely unproductive.' We are however informed, that its population, in proportion to its ſurface, is greater than that of any other country in Europe; and that, even in London, the births have begun to exceed the deaths.

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He next proceeds to point out the progreſs of commerce and of manufactures, and continues to enrich his ſubject with a variety of copious and minute details, from which it is impoſſible to make any ſelection, as they are all equally intereſting and important, and as the catalogue of facts, which he exhibits, is already reduced to the naked ſimplicity of an index. We muſt therefore content ourſelves with recommending them to the attention of the *patient* reader, reminding him, at the ſame time, that Mr Macdiarmid rather chooſes to expoſe himſelf to the imputation of tedioufneſs and prolixity, than run the riſk, on ſubjects of ſuch unqueſtionable importance, of being either inaccurate or obſcure. Thoſe who are diſpoſed to indulge gloomy ſpeculations reſpecting the future deſtiny of Britain, will ſurely lay aſide their apprehenſions, when they are aſſured by this author, that 'unleſs an earthquake ſhould ſwallow up her ſoil, or a deluge ſweep her inhabitants from its ſurface, her wealth cannot depart while her induſtry remains.'

Having thus clearly demonſtrated, that the nation is daily adding to its riches, Mr Macdiarmid is naturally led to conſider how far our *morals* are endangered by the accumulation of our wealth, as it is evident that no nation can be regarded as truly proſperous, which exhibits indications of relaxed morals. This inquiry is perfectly conſonant, therefore, to the general plan of the work, and may be vindicated on the ſame principles as the *expoſé* of our reſources.

Mr Macdiarmid next proceeds to point out the effects of the diviſion of labour on the ſtate of ſociety, and proves, in a moſt convincing manner, that Britain continues to improve 'in private virtue of every kind, in freedom, patriotiſm, good order, and religion.'

In the ſecond chapter, 'the obſtructions to the proſperity of Great Britain, ariſing from the means employed for her defence,' are conſidered. Had we been exempted, during the whole of the laſt hundred years, from the charges which were neceſſarily incurred in the maintenance of our fleets and armies, Mr Macdiarmid reckons, that, at the cloſe of the 19th century, our wealth and population would have been double its actual amount. The calculations on which he founds this eſtimate are extremely curious and intereſting. He ſuppoſes the nation to have been involved in war during one half of the laſt century; and that, during this period, 200,000 men have been, on an average, employed in warlike purſuits, and have conſequently been loſt to the productive induſtry of the country. This circumſtance, he very naturally concludes, muſt have operated as a powerful check to her commercial advancement. The actual loſs incurred, he eſtimates, very much

much at his eaſe, at 400 millions Sterling. The number of men maintained by Britain, during the period of peace, he ſuppoſes, on a moderate computation, might amount to 50,000. He has neglected, indeed, to ſpecify in pounds Sterling the exact *quantum* of damage which productive induſtry muſt ſuſtain by the burden of ſupporting ſuch a force; but the omiſſion is not by any means material, as he aſſures us, that the aggregate amount of the loſs incurred during both the period of peace and of war, is exactly equal to the whole wealth and population exiſting in the iſland at the cloſe of the 19th century. All this ſpeculation is evidently as unmeaning as it is inaccurate and preſumptuous. If defence be neceſſary, it muſt be paid for; and it is as idle to calculate how much richer we ſhould have been, if we had not had to pay our ſoldiers and ſailors, as it would be to reckon up the treaſures that might have been accumulated, if we had not had to provide ourſelves with meat, clothes, and fire.

It would be uſeleſs to detain our readers with any account of the miſcellaneous ſtatements contained in the remainder of this chapter—the author's account of the Dutch and German Jews in London, or 'the general miſmanagement of the capital employed in the tenure of ſteelbow.' Suffice it to ſay, that having ſatisfactorily proved that the warlike eſtabliſhments of Britain tend to impede the even tenor of her progreſs to opulence, he is naturally led to inquire whether the evils which ariſe from this ſource can be either palliated or removed. After examining the various expedients which have been adopted or ſuggeſted for that purpoſe, he is decidedly of opinion, that they are all inadequate to the propoſed end; and he cloſes his ſpeculations on this ſubject, with the following profound reflection, which, we will venture to ſay, vies, in convincing clearneſs, with the plaineſt propoſition in Euclid. 'There ſeem to be but the two ways already mentioned' (he obſerves), 'in which a reduction of the public expenditure can take place; either by ſhortening the period of war, and thus taking off the expences of an extraordinary war eſtabliſhment; or by introducing ſuch alterations into the ſyſtem of defence, as that it ſhall afford all neceſſary ſecurity to the nation, and at the ſame time be much leſs expenſive.' In other words, Britain will effect a very material reduction in her annual expenditure, by making peace and diſbanding her armies, or by introducing ſuch alterations in her military eſtabliſhments *as ſhall be leſs expenſive!*

The poſſibility of ſhortening the period of the war, is conſidered in the fifth chapter, which is chiefly remarkable for the ingenuity with which our author compreſſes, within the compaſs of three

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pages, a *ſhort* ſketch of the hiſtory of England, from the earlieſt period of which we have any authentic record, to the preſent times. His object is to ſhew, that it is an abſurd prejudice to conſider France as the natural enemy of Britain. He then proceeds to inform his readers, that, in the ſecond part of his work, he will conſider, whether the ſyſtem of national defence actually adopted in this country, is ſuſceptible of improvement. No ſooner, however, has he announced this pleaſing intelligence, than he commences a long diſſertation on the propriety of employing foreign aſſiſtance in her defence. And becauſe ſtateſmen have occaſionally formed raſh and imprudent alliances, and allies have frequently proved faithleſs and intereſted, he ſeems to condemn every ſpecies of convention between contiguous and independent powers. He thus wiſely reaſons from poſſible contingencies, or from the accidental errors of practical politicians, againſt thoſe ſure and unchangeable maxims of political ſcience, on which the whole fabric of European policy has been reared, and of which the experience of more than a century has amply diſplayed the ſalutary effects.

The fatal events which have ultimately terminated in the ſubverſion of that ſyſtem, ſo far from furniſhing any juſt argument againſt the principles on which it is founded, only prove, that the influence of unforeſeen accidents is not wholly excluded from the direction of human affairs. The deſtruction of the ancient order of political ſociety in Europe, has not beſides been produced by anomalous or unſeen cauſes. We have already had occaſion to remark, that a ſuperiority of warlike ſtrength has been, in all ages, a ſure ſource of national grandeur and preeminence; and that thoſe ſtates who have adopted an efficient ſyſtem of military policy, have invariably triumphed over the independence of their neighbours. Reaſoning from this fact, it was natural to conclude, that a ſudden and unexpected increaſe in the military ſtrength of the moſt powerful and central nation in Europe, would lead to very important changes in the political relations of the European ſtates. Wherever a variety of independent communities are connected by contiguous frontiers, it ſeems eſſentially neceſſary to the ſecurity of each, either that there ſhould exiſt a perfect equality of individual ſtrength, or that the exiſtence of the weaker ſtates ſhould be guaranteed by the protection of their more powerful neighbours. That an equality of ſtrength cannot long ſubſiſt between a number of rival nations, is a propoſition too obvious to require illuſtration. One particular ſtate muſt ſooner or later acquire an undue aſcendancy; and then it is evident, that thoſe ſtates who are incapable of making an effectual reſiſtance by their ſeparate efforts, muſt oppoſe to the encroachments

encroachments of their common enemy, the more formidable barrier of confederated ſtrength. By forming alliances, and uniting their reſources, they will at leaſt ſecure to themſelves one chance of deliverance from the rapacity of ambition. In the ancient world, thoſe obvious maxims, though they ſeem to have been familiar to ſpeculative politicians, do not appear to have been generally incorporated into the practical policy of nations; and indeed it is not eaſy to conceive how they could have been followed out in practice, while the arts and ſciences were yet in their infancy, while thoſe grand improvements on which the complicated ſcheme of modern policy depends for its energy and perfection, were unknown, and while the channels of political intelligence and communication muſt have been very irregular and uncertain.

As Mr Macdiarmid's views of foreign policy ſeem to hinge altogether on the following profound axiom, namely, that a great ſtate ſhould diſunite itſelf from all external relations, and reſt its ſecurity entirely on its own internal ſtrength; we are ſurpriſed that he does not refer his readers, for a confirmation of his principles, to ancient hiſtory, where the ſyſtem of foreign policy which he recommends was very ſtrictly adhered to, and where its effects were, of courſe, very fully diſplayed. The nations of antiquity were connected by none of thoſe alliances which Mr Macdiarmid ſo ſtrenuouſly condemns; it does not appear that they even entered into confederacies for the purpoſe of checking the undue aggrandizement of any riſing power. Hence they were all ſubjected, in regular ſucceſſion, to the Roman yoke; nor does their partial and inſulated hoſtility ever ſeem to have interpoſed a perceptible check to the increaſing grandeur of that immenſe empire. The expedition of Hannibal into Italy, forms, indeed, an exception to this general remark; and it is truly wonderful to conſider, how, in that age of the world, ſuch an extenſive ſcheme of hoſtile operations could have been planned. We are at a loſs indeed to determine, whether the power of Hannibal's extraordinary genius was moſt particularly diſplayed in the conception, or in the proſecution of his vaſt deſigns. In Greece, too, which was compoſed of a variety of petty and independent ſtates, and which afforded, on that account, peculiar facilities for perfecting a ſyſtem of foreign policy, it is eaſy to diſcern the rude and unformed image of the balancing ſyſtem. With theſe exceptions, however, it may be generally obſerved of all the nations of antiquity, that they appear to have been ruined by their own blind improvidence. They never ſeem to have been rouſed from their dream of ſecurity, until every preparatory meaſure was completed for enſuring their deſtruction. Now, it is the peculiar

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boaſt of modern policy, by vigilance and circumſpection, to provide againſt evils before they are imminent and formidable; and to check the undue encroachment of ambition, while it is yet practicable, by meaſures of timely and preventive ſecurity. This deſireable end can only be effected by that general ſyſtem of guarantee and alliance which Mr Macdiarmid ſo ignorantly condemns; for no other reaſon that we can diſcover, but becauſe alliances have been often imprudently and raſhly formed.

The remainder of the chapter is employed in examining the policy of ſubſidizing allies, and of employing foreign mercenaries, on which ſubject Mr Macdiarmid has accumulated a variety of moſt minute information, for the purpoſe of proving, that the fidelity of foreign mercenaries cannot be depended on; that they are dangerous to liberty; and that, conſequently, they are a ſource rather of weakneſs than of ſtrength. He next enters into a tedious diſſertation on the propriety of augmenting 'the national reſources applicable to defence,' which has really ſo little relation to the ſubject of his work, that our readers will readily excuſe us for paſſing on to the conſideration of the third chapter; the object of which ſeems to be, to point out the beſt means of rendering a people warlike. After a few obſervations on its multifarious contents, we ſhall take the opportunity of ſhortly ſtating what we conceive to be the moſt effectual mode of calling forth the warlike energies of a populous and opulent nation.

As we really cannot collect, from Mr Macdiarmid's reaſonings, what is his preciſe object, we cannot pretend to follow him through all the digreſſions and declamations he has contrived to introduce upon this ſubject. The following paradox, namely, 'that a nation is rendered warlike by peace, and effeminate by war,' would have induced feebler minds to reconſider very ſcrupulouſly the nature of the facts from which ſo ſtrange a poſition could have been deduced. In this reſpect, however, we are convinced that Mr Macdiarmid has acted with ſingular prudence; he had no doubt conſidered the danger of all uſeleſs experiments, and had wiſely reflected, that his work, like Don Quixote's helmet, might have prematurely periſhed, had its merits been ſubjected to too rude a trial.

After examining how far a ſtate of improvement affects the warlike character of nations, our author next proceeds to conſider whether the influence of climate has any tendency to promote or impede the acquiſition of martial virtues; and becauſe the moſt oppoſite varieties of national character have been in different ages diſplayed under the ſame climate, he thinks himſelf warranted to conclude, that the influence of climate is a complete chimera. He does not ſeem to conſider that the characters

racters of nations are formed by the combined operation of moral and of phyſical cauſes; and that, in one age, the phyſical influence of climate may be felt without any controul; while, in a ſucceeding age, it may be modified and counteracted by the operation of more powerful moral cauſes. In an early ſtage of ſociety it undoubtedly predominates in the formation of the human character; but it is the glory of an enlightened government to counteract its debaſing influence, and to faſhion the manners under the forming hand of legiſlative ſkill.

Mr Macdiarmid next proceeds to obſerve, that different habits are abſolutely neceſſary to enable the mind to encounter, with intrepidity, different modes of peril. After a long diſſertation on boxing and bull-baiting, interſperſed with references to the Spartan manners, and to the fights of gladiators, he at length concludes, that there is no relation between ferocity and intrepidity, and loudly declares againſt all barbarous paſtimes. He is particularly impreſſive, however, when he attempts to prove the efficacy of religious opinions, in animating men in ſeaſons of danger. 'The religion of Mahomet (he obſerves) promiſes the believer, who dies in battle againſt infidels, the faireſt houris, and the moſt exquiſite luxuries of paradiſe. It was common with the Saracen youths to ruſh into the thickeſt of the battle, and to receive the mortal thruſts of their enemies with a ſhout of exultation, in the firm expectation of being immediately tranſferred to groves of eternal verdure, where pleaſures ever new were to be enjoyed in the company of the black-eyed virgins.' With reſpect to the Chriſtian religion, he obſerves, that by diſtinctly revealing the great truth of the immortality of the ſoul, and by ſpreading among the great body of the people, more poſitive information reſpecting their condition in a future ſtate of exiſtence, it has contributed to render men much more intrepid on the approach of death; and he is of opinion, that thoſe great truths could never have been 'impreſſed with ſufficient force on the minds of men, unleſs life and immortality had been brought to light by the goſpel.'

Mr Macdiarmid, however, muſt ſurely be aware that it is the policy of every commander to prevent his troops from dwelling on the thought of death, or from imagining that the buſineſs in which they are engaged has any peculiar tendency to bring them nearer to a ſtate of immortality. It may no doubt be very reaſonable and proper for a preacher to declaim about death, before a ſecure and ſleepy audience; but we cannot help imagining, that it would be an injudicious as well as an unuſual ſubject, for the addreſs of a general to his army. The

idea of immortality, we are afraid, is too abſtract and ſpiritual to intereſt the feelings of ſoldiers on the eve of battle; and we ſuſpect they would liſten with no great animation to the moſt eloquent lecture that could be delivered to them upon ſuch a ſubject. The worthy chaplain, we conceive, would find it a difficult mater to make them ruſh deſperately on the enemy, by the moſt captivating repreſentations he could poſſibly make of the felicity that awaited them in another world.

Having now concluded our remarks on Mr Macdiarmid's performance; we ſhall venture to make a few obſervations on ſome of the important ſubjects of which we expected him to have treated. It appears to us, from the moſt careful ſurvey of hiſtorical evidence, that a well diſciplined army has, in all ages, been a ſure foundation of political importance and power; and that ſuch armies have been the immediate and efficient inſtruments in bringing about all thoſe important revolutions in the affairs of mankind, of which hiſtory has preſerved any authentic record. It is therefore very material to inquire, what are the peculiar qualities which characterize ſoldiers, and in what manner thoſe qualities naturally ariſe out of the peculiar conſtitution which armies have in all ages invariably aſſumed. This inquiry ſeems to be particularly neceſſary, becauſe the conſtitution of an army is not the fanciful device of any raſh projector; its fundamental principles are grounded on the unchangeable qualities of the human mind, and have on that account remained ſtationary, amid the varying faſhions, manners, and improvements of mankind; it has, indeed, grown out of the nature of ſociety, and has been found by the univerſal experience of mankind, to be well calculated to fit thoſe who are trained under its regulations for the purpoſes of war.

The perfection of a military force conſiſts undoubtedly in an inſtant and complete *obedience* to command; not indeed on a parade, where any man may, without much exertion, yield a ready compliance with whatever is enjoined him; but it is in braving every mode of peril and of death, in obedience to orders, that the military character is exhibited in its genuine perfection. It is therefore the object of diſcipline, not only to eſtabliſh authority on a ſolid foundation, by training men to a conſtant familiarity with the peremptory decrees of martial law, but alſo to facilitate and ſecure obedience, by forming and bringing to maturity, thoſe habits of mind which enable them, bravely and cheerfully, to confront danger. There ariſes, beſides, in all armies, when they are engaged in the operations of war, and expoſed to its perils, a peculiar ſyſtem of manners, which very materially aſſiſts the effect

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of poſitive inſtitutions. From the ardour of zeal, emulation and honour, which the ſituation in which ſoldiers are placed naturally produces, men are animated to unuſual exertions of valour; they glory and rejoice in ſcenes, which the mind, in its natural ſtate, contemplates with horror. It is only, alſo, in the perilous emergencies of real ſervice, that a commander has an opportunity of ſecuring the confidence, and conciliating the affections of his troops; by diſplaying courage, capacity, and preſence of mind, in the midſt of danger; by an unwearied attention to the comforts of the ſoldiers; by ſhewing, on all occaſions, a zealous attachment to the character and profeſſion, and by cheerfully participating in all the dangers and privations to which they are expoſed. By theſe means, all great generals have contrived to communicate to their troops an extraordinary portion of heroic zeal: By operating on their minds by peculiar incentives, they have given new energy to all thoſe principles on which the excellence of the military character depends, and have called forth in their ſervice, all thoſe enthuſiaſtic feelings which, in the hour of danger, animate the paſſions, and fortify the heart. Men who have been accuſtomed to this ſort of training, very ſoon acquire all thoſe moral habitudes which teach them fearleſsly to expoſe themſelves to danger; and it is entirely in thoſe qualities of the mind that we are to look for that grand diſtinction which exiſts between ſoldiers and men employed in peaceful occupations; and for that ſuperiority in the field, which has always enabled armies to diſcomfit and diſperſe every ſpecies of irregular force which has been raſhly expoſed to their attack.

We conceive it, therefore, highly dangerous and impolitic in any ſtate to rely for its ſecurity on the efforts of men who are not ſoldiers; who employ themſelves only occaſionally in acquiring mechanical dexterity in the uſe of arms, but who devote the chief portion of their time and attention to purſuits wholly different. It is impoſſible that men, placed in ſuch circumſtances, can ever acquire the characteriſtic habits and feelings of ſoldiers; and it has been found, by experience, that they have never been able to withſtand the ſhock of a regular army. Whenever, therefore, the military force of any ſtate is formed, either wholly or in part, of the unwarlike population of the country, who may, no doubt, be very eaſily aſſimilated in external appearance, but who never can acquire the real character of ſoldiers, it appears to us, that very great inconvenience and danger muſt be the inevitable reſult. In contriving a ſcheme of warlike operations, it is neceſſary very ſeriouſly to conſider the nature and character of the troops who are to be employed. It would, no doubt, be

extremely culpable in a commander, to waſte the energies of a veteran force in feeble and indeciſive warfare; but it would evidently lead to conſequences ſtill more diſaſtrous, if raw and inexperienced levies were appointed to execute plans of bold and offenſive hoſtility. But if the ſame army is compoſed of troops of the moſt oppoſite deſcriptions, how is it poſſible to combine their exertions in the proſecution of one object? The mode of warfare to be purſued, muſt either be adapted to the one ſort of force, or to the other. The regular army muſt either be clogged by the incumbrance of an inferior force, and the general ſyſtem of military operations conſequently enfeebled; or troops, imperfectly diſciplined, muſt be ordered upon ſervices which they are not qualified to perform, and may involve, in their defeat, the diſcomfiture of the whole body.

To aſſimilate new levies to regular ſoldiers, and to range them in ſolid battalions in the ſame line, appears to us to be an experiment, in other reſpects, full of danger. In all the various and unlooked for fluctuations of affairs which may occur in a battle, the new levies might be left alone to ſuſtain the fierceſt onſet; and on their ſteadineſs the event of the day might poſſibly depend. By unforeſeen accidents, they might be ſurrounded by perils, which it would require the collected fortitude of veterans to repel; they might be placed in poſitions which they could not maintain, or appointed to ſervices which they could not perform. We cannot conceive how they would be at all competent to execute any ſcheme of offenſive hoſtility, to the attack of any important poſt, which being defended by veteran troops advantageouſly poſted, might not perhaps be carried but by the reiterated efforts of deſperate intrepidity. The danger, therefore, of conjoining new levies in any great proportion with regular ſoldiers is manifeſt; and either in this caſe, or where the whole force of a country is compoſed of troops imperfectly diſciplined, there is no chance of ſafety in caſe of invaſion, but by reſorting to a ſyſtem of defenſive warfare, which, in an open or level country, can never be ultimately ſucceſsful, except through the miſconduct of the enemy, and which, even in a country abounding in ſtrong poſitions, is of very doubtful iſſue. With a force imperfectly diſciplined to check veteran troops by a judicious combination of ſcientific movements; to chooſe poſitions ſo excellent as to bid defiance to the efforts of the moſt enterprizing enemy, and ſo to fortify and ſecure them, that ſuperior gallantry ſhould be only a paſſport to deſtruction, requires ſuch ſkill and talents, and ſuch a ſeries of proſperous chances, that it would be quite unſafe for any ſtate to hazard its ſafety on ſuch a rare conjunction. The invading army might, by rapid

rapid and daring hoſtility, render nugatory a ſyſtem of defenſive tactics; they might force their enemy to a battle in defence of ſome capital object; and how uncertain and precarious would ſuch a conteſt be, if ſucceſs depended on the perſevering valour of inexperienced troops! It appears to us to be an incontrovertible poſition, that an invader, who poſſeſſes an army excellently trained and diſciplined, and who is oppoſed by a force of an inferior character, will ultimately ſucceed in his views, if he is ſufficiently rapid and enterprizing in his movements, ſo as to prevent both the ſpirit of adventure from languiſhing among his followers, and the invaded country from concentrating its phyſical ſtrength; and we imagine, that where invaſions in ſimilar circumſtances have not ſucceeded, it has only been becauſe the hoſtile commander, inſtead of purſuing a ſyſtem of bold and ſanguinary hoſtility, has waſted the energies of his troops in feeble, indeciſive, and protracted warfare, which, in his ſituation, leads more ſurely to deſtruction, than the blindeſt temerity. How quickly did Suwarrow ſubdue the Poliſh inſurgents, by the celerity of his motions, and the unparalleled boldneſs of his deſigns?

It appears to us, that the events of war are determined by the united influence of diſcipline and tactics; and that, conſequently, the perfection of the military art is produced by a combination of ſkilful tactics, with a high ſtate of diſcipline. Were the diſtinction between thoſe two ſources of excellence well underſtood, and ſufficiently attended to, it might, in our opinion, lead to a more clear elucidation of events which have been but imperfectly accounted for on general principles, and have, for that reaſon, led to much miſconception. A general may have brought his troops to the higheſt poſſible degree of diſcipline, but he may not have matured a ſyſtem of tactics to a correſponding degree of perfection; or, an unſkilful general may be entruſted with the command of excellent troops, and may be oppoſed by a more ſkilful commander with an army inferior in diſcipline; and the ſuperiority of tactics on the one ſide may more than counterbalance an inferiority of diſcipline. But are we from thence raſhly to infer, that troops, imperfectly diſciplined, are a match for a veteran force, or that diſcipline has not a moſt important influence on the deciſion of battles? It might be argued with equal propriety, that, in military operations, ſuperiority of numbers is not a very material advantage, becauſe it has been frequently more than counterbalanced by the talents of a ſkilful general. The object of a great commander, who is well acquainted with his troops, and who has gained their confidence, is generally to bring his enemy to battle on fair and equal terms; and, if that object cannot be

attained, to attack even at a diſadvantage. His deciſion muſt be guided entirely by the circumſtances of the caſe; and, in forming a correct eſtimate of the comparative advantages of the enemy's poſition, and of the ſuperior diſcipline of his troops, the event of the battle, and his own character for prudence and judgment, muſt wholly depend.

Hannibal had brought his troops to a moſt aſtoniſhing ſtate of diſcipline, and he had choſen a mode of warfare admirably adapted to diſplay their warlike virtues: he always endeavoured to bring his enemy to battle on equal terms; and the event was conſtantly in his favour. The excellence of Fabius was chiefly manifeſted in his tactics; he had formed a correct eſtimate of the character, both of his own troops and of that of the enemy; and he had choſen his defenſive poſitions with ſuch admirable judgment, that Hannibal, with all the advantages of a highly diſciplined force, did not think proper to hazard an attack. The ſucceſsful execution of thoſe manœuvres, by which he contrived to elude the effects of ſuperior diſcipline, claſs him among the greateſt generals. His troops, however, having been manœuvred for ſome time in the face of an enemy, muſt have very nearly approached to the ſtandard of diſcipline generally to be found in armies; yet, in the battle of Cannæ, it was ſeen how much inferior they were, in thoſe qualities which conſtitute the perfection of ſoldiers, to Hannibal's veterans. Turenne, it is ſaid, was chiefly remarkable for his tactical ſkill; the great qualities of Condé were diſplayed, in the day of battle, in inſpiring his ſoldiers with heroic ardour and enthuſiaſm. In the civil wars, during the reign of Charles the Firſt, there is no appearance of tactical ſkill; the battles were chiefly decided by diſcipline; and no man excelled Cromwell in the forming of troops. That ſingular character, by ingrafting military enthuſiaſm on religious fanaticiſm, brought the military character to unrivalled perfection, and decided the fortune of the war. The talents of King William were principally diſplayed in awakening the enthuſiaſm of his ſoldiers. It is remarked by Biſhop Burnet, that he committed great errors of conduct, but that he poſſeſſed a heroical courage, which inflamed all about him. The obſtacles which he ſurmounted in the defence of his country, would have ſtaggered the reſolution of common minds; and if the French generals had puſhed their advantages with ſufficient vigour, his reſiſtance would have been ineffectual; but they allowed the war to aſſume a languid and indeciſive character; and, in the mean time, the Dutch troops acquired, under the preſiding genius of the Prince of Orange, all the warlike habits of ſoldiers, and were

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ſoon enabled to cope with their enemies in the field. Marlborough ſeems to have united in his character all the qualities of a great general; to have combined ſkilful tactics with the moſt admirable diſcipline; not only to have excelled in perfecting his inſtrument, but to have been equally dexterous in uſing it with the beſt poſſible effect. His troops appear to have poſſeſſed, in the greateſt perfection, all thoſe qualities which, in the hour of peril, render the heart impregnable to panic or diſmay; and they were led on to contend for victory and for fame, by commanders of tried courage and capacity, who exalted, by their own example, the ardour of their troops, to the higheſt poſſible elevation of heroic zeal. It was particularly remarked in the battle of Ramillies, how conſpicuouſly every officer of rank diſtinguiſhed himſelf; and even the Dutch general Monſieur Auverquerque, forgetting his years and infirmities, was ſeen every where in the hotteſt of the fire, encouraging and animating his men to prodigies of valour. Marlborough did not waſte the energies of ſuch troops in feeble and indeciſive hoſtility; his mode of warfare was entirely adapted to the nature and character of the force which he commanded, and was admirably calculated to diſplay the effects of ſuperior diſcipline; he hazarded every thing, and depended, in the day of battle, on the tried fidelity and courage of his ſoldiers, and on the ſure reſources of his own genius, for a glorious reſult. He was fettered, at the outſet of his career, by the timid caution of the Dutch generals; but with ſuch a force, and ſuch a commander, it was prudence to attempt the boldeſt and moſt adventurous deſigns. The ſuperiority of Marlborough's troops, in ſteady and deſperate valour, was recognized by his enemies, who felt themſelves unable to withſtand them in the field, and frequently deſerted their ſtrongeſt poſitions at his approach. The whole hiſtory indeed of his campaigns, illuſtrates ſtrikingly, ſo far at leaſt as reſpects the relative diſcipline of the troops engaged, the theory of offenſive and defenſive war, and ſhows plainly how difficult it is to defend the ſtrongeſt poſitions againſt an army very highly diſciplined, and led on by a bold and enterprizing commander. The victories of Suwarrow are principally to be aſcribed to the aſtoniſhing diſcipline of his troops; they had attained to the higheſt poſſible perfection in all military qualities, and he accordingly employed them, almoſt entirely, in the boldeſt and moſt ſanguinary operations of offenſive hoſtility. The aſſault of Iſmail and of Warſaw, and the attack of the French poſition at Novi, are almoſt unrivalled in the annals of military enterprize.

As it appears, therefore, that the ſucceſs of military operations ſo materially depends on the diſcipline of the troops employed, nothing can be conceived more impolitic in any ſtate, than to rely

for its defence on a force of inferior quality, and thus voluntarily to relinquish one of the requisite conditions either for acting offensively with effect, or for ensuring the speedy discomfiture of an invading enemy. The independence of such a state, when attacked by a regular army, though not exposed to certain destruction, must yet rest on a very insecure foundation. Its defence may no doubt be rendered possible, by a strong barrier of fortified towns, by the nature of a country abounding with strong positions, and by the unskilful management of the invading army. If a commander, with a force trained and disciplined, after beating his enemy in the field, does not push his advantages with rapidity and vigour; if he allows them to recover from the consternation of his first victories; to recruit and reanimate their broken and disheartened troops; to secure their strong holds; and to consolidate the physical strength of the country against him, his ultimate ruin is certain. He ought never to allow his men to rest in pursuit of a routed foe; neither ought he to stand wavering and deliberating before passes and strong positions, but to appal his enemy by the rapidity of his movements, and the boldness of his designs; always considering, that the most sanguinary and desperate hostility is his surest policy, and that the blindest temerity does not lead more surely to destruction in the end, than a system of protracted and indecisive warfare. As it appears to us, therefore, that a regular army, skilfully commanded, has always effected the ruin of a country defended by a less effective species of force, we are inclined to think, that a nation ought to rest its security solely on a regular army; and if it be thought expedient to arm the population of the country, that it should form a force wholly and decisively irregular; not gathered into battalions, nor appointed to shock with the enemy in the regular conflict of the field. In a country especially which possesses few positions, either strong by nature or fortified by art, and arrived at such a state of improvement, as to afford every facility for internal communication, it has always appeared to us, that the main reliance should be placed upon a disciplined and disposable army, and that it would be a rash and hazardous experiment to collect the unwarlike population into gross and solid masses, and expose it in the front of the battle to the charge of a practised assailant.

Such is the opinion which we are disposed to form on the general question as to the best means of defence, considered without reference to the actual condition of any particular country. We are by no means prepared, however, to say that it is applicable at all points to the present situation of Great Britain; or that there is, in this particular case, so essential a difference between our volunteer and our regular force, as to make us wish to see

the former ſuperſeded in a great meaſure by the latter. Our volunteers are not merely an armed multitude; they have been embodied for a number of years, and have attained, in many inſtances, to a very reſpectable ſtate of diſcipline and knowledge. The money which has been beſtowed upon them might perhaps have provided a more efficient and ſerviceable army; but this was a voluntary expenditure; and half the ſum raiſed by compulſion would have been felt as a ſerious oppreſſion. Our volunteers, then, are too good to be parted with; and are certainly more fit for ſervice than any other form of an armed population can poſſibly be.

This, however, is but one half of the queſtion; our volunteers, as they now are, are not only much better than an armed multitude, but our regular army, we are afraid, is ſomething worſe than the regular army of our opponents, and does not ſeem to poſſeſs all thoſe requiſites which entitle it to be contraſted with forces of another deſcription. It is not being enliſted in a regular corps that can make a man a ſoldier—it is not receiving daily pay—nor appearing twice a day on the parade—nor being expert at the manual exerciſe, and familiar with the eighteen manœuvres. It is the experience of danger—it is a practical knowledge of the buſineſs of war—it is real ſervice in the face of an enemy. Now it is obvious, that there is but a ſmall proportion of our regular army which can boaſt of this qualification. We have 16,000, perhaps, who were in Egypt, and about as many more who were in Holland, and in the Weſt Indies; but the great body of our army has no military experience; and will be as new to actual ſervice as the militia and volunteers, with whom it has become uſual to contraſt them. All they can boaſt of at preſent, then, is, the exactneſs of parade diſcipline, and ſuperior expertneſs in thoſe exerciſes, in which it is not diſputed that volunteers may be made to rival them. When the neceſſity of fighting comes, we have no doubt that they will rapidly acquire all the other requiſites of the military character: but the volunteers, if they are called into action, will acquire them alſo; and if they ſtart with the ſame advantages, as to mere bodily diſcipline and activity, they will probably acquire them as rapidly. A volunteer completely drilled, we take it, is fit for any thing that a regular ſoldier is fit for, who has never ſeen ſervice; and, if they are ſent into the field together, will ripen into a veteran as ſoon as his comrade. It does not appear to us that it will impair his martial ardour in any conſiderable degree, that, after he has learned all that he can learn out of actual ſervice, he ſhould work at a peaceable trade, inſtead of going about idle, till the occaſion for ſervice arrives; or, that he will fight the

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worſe upon that occaſion, for having a home and a family to fight for.

Theſe conſiderations make us heſitate a good deal, about the expediency of any meaſure that may deprive us of a force that has been provided at a great expence, both of money and of time, and which is by no means ſo decidedly inferior to our regular army, as ſeems to have been ſometimes imagined; at the ſame time, we are very ſenſible, that the conſtitution of many of the volunteer corps is ſuch, as to render it extremely doubtful whether it would be prudent to bring them into actual ſervice. They contain many, whoſe phyſical qualifications, and inveterate habits, unfit them for the labours of actual warfare; and very many, who would do more valuable ſervice to the country in other occupations. Thoſe who are pointed out by nature as the fighting men of the country, are by no means to be all found in the ranks of the volunteers; and there are many there, who cannot be claſſed under that denomination. Some reduction, therefore, of the volunteer eſtabliſhment, would probably be advantageous; and we have no doubt that ſtill greater benefit would reſult from the practice of training a larger proportion of them to the exerciſes of irregular warfare. They ſhould be carefully exerciſed in firing at marks, and in ſuddenly diſperſing and aſſembling in ſmall bodies, as well as in accompliſhing conſiderable journies, and providing for their ſhelter and ſubſiſtence, in caſes of emergency;—acting in this manner, in ſubſerviency to the regular forces, they might be the means of the moſt diſpiriting annoyance and fatal obſtruction to the enemy; and ſecure a deciſive victory, without ever encountering the hazard of a ruinous defeat.

Our limits will no longer permit us to enlarge upon theſe intereſting queſtions; but it is proper to obſerve, that there is one whole branch of the inquiry, which has been unaccountably neglected, in the whole of the diſcuſſions with which the country has lately been agitated. We allude to the education and training of the officers, by whom the army, whether regular or irregular, is to be commanded. The two cardinal virtues of a military force, we have already ſtated, are Diſcipline and Tactics. The former, relates chiefly to the men—the latter, to the officers. Actual warfare is, undoubtedly, the beſt ſchool for both; and the ſame circumſtances, which have prevented our regulars from acquiring all the habits of veteran ſoldiers, have no doubt thrown formidable obſtacles in the way of the profeſſional accompliſhment of their commanders. Something, however, may certainly be done to promote theſe accompliſhments;—and ſomething more than has yet been undertaken, or apparently meditated, by our Government. Perhaps the reform ſhould be begun by the deciſive meaſure of prohibiting

hibiting the ſale of commiſſions; and eſtabliſhing, throughout the country, a variety of military academies, where the youth might be regularly trained to a ſcientific knowledge of the principles of their profeſſion. A general taſte for ſuch acquiſitions might alſo be promoted, by the example of a few perſons in eminent ſituations; and by the endowment of profeſſorſhips, for the different branches of military ſcience, in moſt of the univerſities. Encouragement ſhould alſo be given to young men who would go abroad as volunteers into foreign ſervices; and honours and promotion made the reward of thoſe who brought back certificates of their gallantry and proficiency. We throw out theſe hints with diffidence: but, in the preſent criſis of our affairs, it appears to us that ſomething ought to be done, to put us on a footing with a nation of warriors, and to give the braveſt people upon earth the full uſe of its bravery.

ART. VI. *Conſiderations ariſing from the Debates in Parliament, on the Petition of the Iriſh Catholics.* By Sir John Throckmorton, Bart. London, 1806.

THE ſubject to which this pamphlet relates, is one which has, during late years, occupied in a very conſiderable degree the attention of thoſe who think, and of thoſe who do not think, among Britiſh politicians. About a twelvemonth ſince, in particular, it received from both houſes of Parliament, that full and ſerious diſcuſſion which was due to the magnitude of the intereſts involved in it, to the ſolemnity of a petition proceeding from a fifth part of the population of our iſlands, and to the authority of thoſe ſtateſmen by whom it was adviſed and ſupported. The prayer of the petition was at that time refuſed; and it is probable, that this queſtion will not come again under the conſideration of the Legiſlature for ſome years to come; but recur it certainly will, at ſome period or other, and probably before any material change can be effected in the circumſtances under which we now contemplate it. Such, indeed, muſt have been the opinion of the author of the pamphlet before us, which, being publiſhed after the heat and ardour of the conflict are over, ſeems rather to court the attention of thinking men, than the curioſity and prejudices of the multitude.

We may venture to lay it down as a general propoſition, that all reſtrictive laws, which exclude certain claſſes of men from political ſtations, are, in their immediate operation, oppreſſive and impolitic. That the claſſes excluded are ſufferers, is abundantly

antly clear; and evils ſuffered by individuals are in ſome meaſure evils ſuffered by the public, if it be true that the public is compoſed of individuals. But, were we even to conſider the ſtate as ſomewhat different from thoſe who compoſe it, ſtill the excluſion of uſeful talents muſt be as real a loſs to the political body, as the locking up a part of his capital would be to the merchant. The genius, knowledge, ſkill, bravery, and induſtry of individuals, are, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, parts of the public ſtock; they are items in the account current between nation and nation, whether the page relate to arts or to arms. Do we laugh at the hereditary caſts of the old Egyptians, which kept the ſon of a cobler to his father's awl, and checked a paſſion for laying bricks in the young baſketmaker, like felony or ſacrilege? do we pride ourſelves in that liberal policy, which has thrown open the gates of honour to the brave and prudent of all ranks? and can we deny, that any reſtrictions by which men are forcibly drawn from their natural bent, any barriers, which ſhut out the proſpects of honourable reward, are naturally injurious to the commonweal? The ſeeds of genius, which, with time and opportunity ripen into the ſtateſman and the commander, are ſcattered indiſcriminately among thoſe of one religion or of another. The chance of birth might have thrown him who fell at Trafalgar, without the pale of proteſtancy, and conſequently beyond the poſſibility of obtaining command; or compelled the illuſtrious orator whoſe eloquence maintained the Catholic petition, to have been himſelf a mute and inglorious ſuitor for the relief which it claimed.

If this be true, and nothing appears to us more undeniable, it follows, that ſuch reſtrictions, if they can be defended at all, muſt be defended, not as beneficial in themſelves, but as the means of purchaſing ſome eſſential good, or warding off ſome evil, more important than thoſe which they bring with them. The burthen of proof, therefore, lies wholly on thoſe who contend for keeping them up. General declamations againſt the love of uſeleſs change, and on the folly of attempting to mend what is good already, will not do here; not even the proverb, 'Stava ben, ma per ſtar meglio, ſto qui;' for in fact, we are not well as we are; it is a real and poſitive loſs to the community, as well as to individuals, which the laws in queſtion have occaſioned, and which it is at leaſt worth conſidering if we cannot remove. The matter ſtands, therefore, as we requeſt the reader to obſerve, on grounds wholly diſtinct from the caſe of the Catholic petition, conſidered as ſuch; for, had the queſtion never been agitated, or even had the people of that perſuaſion been indifferent to the ſubject, as ſome contend them to be, we

ſhould

ſhould ſtill have deemed the abrogation of thoſe reſtrictive laws which affect them, a ſalutary meaſure for the commonwealth, unleſs ſome very ſtrong reaſons could be ſhewn for their continuance.

We feel therefore, undoubtedly, previous to any particular inquiry, a certain unwillingneſs to acquieſce in the preſent order of things, becauſe it can at beſt be only a leſs evil than the alteration of it would be. Nevertheleſs, we will not venture to ſay, that ſituations may not be conceived, in which the legal reſtrictions which affect the Catholics of Ireland might be juſtified on ſtrong grounds of expediency. The queſtion of right, which has been too much battled on both ſides, is not, we think, very diſtinct, nor likely to ſolve the difficulty. Legal right there can plainly be none, in thoſe who aſk the Legiſlature for relief. A moral right to the redreſs of grievances all ſubjects poſſeſs; and the correlative duty of the government is manifeſt. We muſt, therefore, inquire, whether a grievance, that is, an evil without any correſponding public good, has been ſuſtained; and thus the queſtion of right coincides with that of expediency. What, then, were the circumſtances which led to the diſabilities of which the Catholics complain in Ireland, and how far do they exiſt at this time?

The conduct of our anceſtors towards Ireland is not preciſely that part of their polity which we contemplate with the greateſt pleaſure. Founded in unjuſt uſurpation, their dominion was maintained by a ſcheme of proceeding, in which folly and oppreſſion went hand in hand together. The country was parcelled out among a few Engliſh adventurers, who ſpeedily became not leſs barbarous than the natives, whom it was their chief care to exterminate, while their feuds and rebellions prevented every benefit which the policy of Government might, from time to time, have communicated to ſo extenſive a portion of the empire. Hence, neither by conqueſt or ſubmiſſion, as has been well ſhewn by Sir John Davis, had Ireland become fully ſubject to the Engliſh Crown, till the vigorous adminiſtration of Elizabeth overpowered the laſt ſtruggle of Iriſh independence. In this infirm ſtate of things the Reformation was introduced into Ireland; not called for, as in England, and ſtill more perhaps in this country, by the courſe of national opinion, but arbitrarily impoſed upon a ſuperſtitious and ignorant people by a Government which they already deteſted. There cannot, perhaps, be any principle more clearly pointed out by juſtice and good ſenſe, with reſpect to religious eſtabliſhments, than that the opinions of the majority, ſuppoſing that majority to be indiſputable, ſhould decide on the particular ſect by whoſe miniſters they are to be inſtructed, and the

expences

expences of which they are to defray. But, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, as we have ſeen it aſſerted, there were not ſixty Proteſtants in Ireland; and the progreſs of this infant church, with all ſorts of protecting bounties to its friends, and every diſcouragement to its adverſaries, was of the moſt unpromiſing aſpect, till the coloniſts of James I., and the ſoldiers of Cromwell, ſupplied the place of native converts. It ſeems, indeed, a queſtion, whether the anomalous ſyſtem of the Church of England, differing ſo materially from the Catholic in doctrine, and as widely from the other Proteſtant churches in diſcipline, though proved, by experience, to be admirably adapted to the country where it was framed, be equally fitted for any other people. In Scotland, in Ireland, in America—wherever, in ſhort, the experiment has been tried, it has certainly failed of ſucceſs; and perhaps the eccleſiaſtic, like the civil polity of England, poſſeſſes a racy flavour of its native ſoil, which, by nations of different temperament and prejudices, may rather be admired than imitated. Be this as it may, the people of Ireland adhered to the Romiſh communion; and various penal laws were enacted during the reign of Elizabeth, which, however, like the correſponding ſtatutes in England, neither impaired the rights of property, nor took away from recuſants their ſeats in Parliament.

In the reign of Charles I. broke out that memorable rebellion, during which, according to Sir W. Petty, 616,000 lives 'were waſted by war, famine, plague, hardſhip, and baniſhment;' and two thirds of the ſuperficial contents of the iſland were forfeited by the original proprietors. Whatever might have been the provocations to this conteſt, it was carried on by the inſurgents with a mixture of wickedneſs and infatuation to which there is hardly any parallel in hiſtory; and, from the era of their ſubjugation, ſeverer treatment from an alarmed and exaſperated government was at leaſt the natural reward of their unſucceſsful appeal to the ſword. Few ſtateſmen have ever been placed in a ſituation more embarraſſing than the Duke of Ormond, in the adjuſtment of Iriſh affairs after the Reſtoration. The lands of the Catholics had already paſſed, by the title of conqueſt, into the hands of Cromwell's ſoldiery; conflicting claims were ſet up on every ſide; ſome ſtood on parliamentary compact, ſome on royal promiſes, ſome on perſonal deſert; the innocent were ſwept away by general preſumptions of guilt, and the guilty ſaved by fictitious proofs of their innocence. Out of this chaos of perplexed and jarring intereſts aroſe the act of ſettlement,—the ſeal and ratification of a transfer of property, amounting to near eight millions of acres, which paſſed from Iriſh to Engliſh, from Catholic to Proteſtant dominion. It is not conceivable,

ceivable, that even a race of Gentoos ſhould ſubmit to ſuch loſſes without the wiſh to retrieve them; and it may be gueſſed what effect they would have on Hibernian temperaments. Accordingly, during the ſhort-lived triumph of James II. in Ireland, his Parliament, in which only ſix Proteſtants are recorded to have ſat, paſſed a law, againſt the inclination of that prince, for the unqualified repeal of the act of ſettlement. Victory, on the banks of the Boyne, once more decided, that Ireland muſt ſubmit to Proteſtant rulers; and the keenneſs of the ſtruggle ſeemed to impoſe a neceſſity upon the conquerors, of preſerving what their ſwords had won, by more harſh coercion of the vanquiſhed than before.

The ſevere laws againſt Popery date from the age of William III.: that, in particular, which excludes the profeſſors of that religion from Parliament was paſſed, we believe, in the third year of his reign. It is uſual for the advocates of Catholic privileges to charge theſe enactments upon the religious bigotry of our anceſtors, and an illiberal antipathy to the profeſſors of an adverſe ſect. We ſee no grounds for this imputation. The Proteſtant aſcendancy of Ireland cared very little about purgatory and the ſeven ſacraments. They acted upon principles ſimply political; and their ſeverity was not derived from polemical rancour, but from the two great ſprings of bitterneſs, which turn the milk of human nature into gall,—revenge and fear. They knew what the vanquiſhed had done in the hour of ſucceſs; they looked at their numbers with dread, and ſought to ſtrengthen the barriers of law againſt the rude arm of phyſical power. The ſyſtem of the Popery laws, indeed, in Ireland, muſt be looked at as a whole. In their preſent ſtate they are folly, caprice, feeble and petulant tyranny. As they ſtood originally, they were vigorous and conſiſtent; the firm, well-rivetted fetters of conqueſt, locking into one another, and ſtretching down the captive giant to the floor. For more than half a century after the Revolution, the appellation of 'the common enemy' was regularly given to the Catholics, not in looſe declamation, but in the legitimate and deliberate language of Lord-Lieutenants and Parliaments. The ſtruggles of contending factions never waked them from their lethargy, nor raiſed them from their abaſement; and, while the names of liberty and patriotiſm were on the tongue of every Proteſtant, it was never conceived that three fourths of the people could either ſhare in the one, or be the object of the other. We think it will be found, that the Catholics are hardly named as a diſtinct body, throughout the whole political writings of Swift. Indeed, their firſt reſuſcitation is ſaid to have taken place during the viceroyalty of the Duke of Bedford in 1757, when they ventured to preſent an addreſs to the Caſtle.

The great object of this oppreſſive policy was undoubtedly to

to keep under a powerful enemy: the next was probably to force him over to the Proteſtant ſide. It might, a century ſince, be very plauſibly ſuppoſed, that ſelf-intereſt, working upon a large claſs of men, would get the better of conſcience; and that a Catholic, excluded from political honours, cut off from many even of the common rights of property, and rendered a ſlave and alien in his country, would either quit that country, or the faith, which made the country a ſtepmother to him. The fact, however, has turned out, that Proteſtantiſm has made no converts; and as a great majority of the people have adhered to their original tenets under ſuch diſcouraging circumſtances, the eſtabliſhed church of Ireland may perhaps be conſidered as an experiment which has completely failed. No rational man can look to a time, within any limits to which human policy extends, when the Catholic religion will not prevail in Ireland. At the ſame time, we are far from thinking this a fortunate, or even an indifferent circumſtance, in the ſtate of that country. Few nations have had a more decided intereſt, politically ſpeaking, in the progreſs of one ſect above another, than Great Britain in the growth of the reformed faith on the weſt of St George's Channel. But ſhe has not been very ſucceſsful in her method. Laws, penal or reſtrictive, are but rough medicine; and if the diſeaſe is incurable, it is ſome conſolation to have diſcarded the phyſician.

The ſurpriſe which many worthy Proteſtants may feel at the ſlow progreſs of their own opinions, in a country ſubject to the ſame laws as England, will probably be abated, when they know the actual ſtate of the Iriſh hierarchy. We have now lying before us an account preſented to the Houſe of Commons in 1803, containing the number of pariſhes in Ireland, and of the benefices or unions of pariſhes into which the ſame have been diſtributed and reduced, and alſo of the churches and glebe houſes which actually exiſted in 1791. This document it may be worth while to lay before our readers in a note *, as it exhibits a ſtriking view of the aptneſs which the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of Ireland ſeems to poſſeſs for diffuſing religious inſtruction throughout the maſs of the people. Since the year 1791, it is fair to obſerve, ſums of money to a conſiderable amount have been granted by the Board of Firſt Fruits for the purpoſe of rebuilding churches; but, even if the money has been duly laid out, the number muſt ſtill fall ſhort of that of benefices. The following paſſage from Lord Redeſdale's ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords, which we quote from Sir John Throckmorton's pamphlet, p. 112, is the commentary on this ſtatement.

'There are about 2400 pariſhes, which have been thrown, by unions, many of them very improper, and ſome very recently made, into about 1100

* See following page.

1100 benefices, ſome of which extend over vaſt tracts of country. Many of the pariſhes have no church, which was the caſe with a pariſh in Dublin, ſaid to contain 20,000 inhabitants. Many of the benefices have no glebe, the ancient glebe having been confounded with, and loſt in, the lands of lay-proprietors. Many more of the benefices have no glebe houſe, ſo that the clergyman has no means of reſidence within his pariſh: Unfortunately, too, benefices in this deplorable ſtate have been deemed the moſt deſirable—a pariſh without a church, without a glebe-houſe, and, an almoſt neceſſary conſequence, without a Proteſtant inhabitant.'

The true proportion which exiſts between the eſtabliſhed and tolerated religions, is a *deſideratum* in the ſtatiſtics of Ireland. The ſtatements hitherto given to the public differ as much from one another, as might be expected from party prejudice acting upon perfect ignorance of the truth. Some warm enemies of the Catholic claims aſſert the Proteſtants to compoſe two fifths of the population.

Dioceſes.	*Pariſhes.*	*Benefices, or Union of Pariſhes.*	*Churches*	*Glebe Houſes.*
Armagh - - -	103	69	69	51
Dromore - - -	26	24	27	14
Down and Connor	114	65	76	23
Derry - - -	48	43	51	33
Raphſe - - -	31	25	32	17
Clogher - - -	41	40	49	26
Kilmore - - -	39	30	36	9
Ardagh - - -	37	24	29	10
Meath - - -	224	99	77	29
Dublin - - -	209	86	82	35
Kildare - - -	81	31	28	9
Leighlin & Ferns -	232	79	71	6
Oſſory - - - -	136	56	36	15
Caſhell & Emly -	155	47	35	16
Waterford & Liſmore	106	44	30	8
Cloyne - - -	137	69	51	5
Cork & Roſs - -	127	64	53	14
Limerick - - -	176	88	47	14
Killaloe - -	138	50	38	4
Tuam - - - - -	89	23	24	2
Clonfert - - -	60	15	14	2
Elphin - - -	75	29	26	5
Killala and Achonry	52	20	20	8
	2436	1120	1001	355

population. Mr Newenham, an advocate of thoſe claims, reckons the whole at above five millions, of which he allows only one to the Proteſtants of all denominations. Theſe are the two extremes, and probably both differ from the fact. It is to us a matter of ſurprize, that the bill which has lately paſſed for aſcertaining the population of Ireland, makes no proviſion for clearing up this problem in political arithmetic. Whether a man goes to church or to maſs, is, we believe, as well known as the number of his children, or his windows, and might occupy a column in the return with as much convenience.

The author of the preſent pamphlet is well known as a Catholic gentleman of large fortune and ancient family: he is ſtill more honourably diſtinguiſhed for a degree of liberality and moderation, that all members of that body, even in the preſent age, are not found to poſſeſs. Theſe qualities are apparent in the work before us: we meet not only with the utmoſt temper in managing the diſcuſſion, but with candid conceſſions with reſpect to his own party. We regret only, that his moderation has ſometimes given an air of tameneſs and languor to his ſtyle; and that ſound and ſenſible arguments want that force, which is derived from lucid arrangement and nervous expreſſion. Men, who are converſant with a ſubject in all its bearings, are apt to put their thoughts together more looſely, than thoſe who are compelled to reduce into method the notions they have, as a means of enriching their minds with more. The reaſonings alſo, to which a Catholic is likely to recur, are not exactly thoſe which tell moſt with a perſon unbiaſſed towards that perſuaſion. The aſperſions thrown upon the tenets which he believes, naturally lead him to repel ſuch charges by proofs of the loyalty, quietneſs, and morality of their profeſſors. Theſe, however, extend farther than we ſhould think neceſſary for the deciſion of the preſent queſtion. The ſole point is, whether Catholics ſhall be eligible to Parliament, and capable of enjoying, by the royal choice, ſome great offices in the ſtate. If it can be made out, that no danger can, with any reaſonable probability, be ſuppoſed to ariſe from this to the civil or religious eſtabliſhments of the country, the matter is at once ſettled. But it is by no means incumbent upon *us* to prove, that the lower orders of Iriſh Catholics are not poſſeſſed with a bigotted antipathy againſt the Proteſtants; that they are not abjectly ſubmiſſive to their prieſts; that among thoſe prieſts there is not ſtill lurking the leaven of ſpiritual uſurpation;—becauſe, if all theſe charges are true, and in ſome part we believe them to be true, they are ſtill irrelevant to the preciſe point at iſſue. The admiſſion of a few Catholic gentlemen to Parliament, can hardly aggravate that bigotry and ſubmiſſion to prieſtcraft, which naturally ſprings from intellec-

tual

tual degradation. The removal of invidious diſtinctions cannot inflame the paſſions of thoſe who ſmarted under the feelings which they excited.

There are, it ſeems, two, and only two miſchiefs, which can be diſtinctly preſented to the mind of one who defends the preſent reſtrictions, as probable conſequences of their repeal: he may dread the predominance of a ſect adverſe to that which is eſtabliſhed, in the parliament, or in the cabinet: he may expect to ſee a Catholic majority in the legiſlature, or Catholic councils in the executive government. It is for ſuch a perſon to weigh, whether, ſo long as the people of Great Britain, whoſe repreſentatives exceed, five or ſix times over, thoſe of Ireland, adhere to their preſent faith, there can be any remote poſſibility, againſt which a rational man would think it neceſſary to guard, that a ſmall minority might, by means of a popular aſſembly, overturn any part of the conſtitution; and, in caſe the people of Great Britain ſhould ever relinquiſh their preſent mode of thinking upon theological queſtions, whether the eſtabliſhed church ought, upon any ſound principle, civil or religious, to ſurvive the opinions of thoſe for whom it was deſigned. The influence of Catholic adviſers of the Crown may, with more plauſibility, be brought forward as a contingent miſchief; becauſe, in the two reigns which preceded the Revolution, a project of overwhelming at once the liberties and the Proteſtant church of England, was certainly the ſyſtematic object of a profligate and tyrannical court. The Sovereign, however, muſt, by the Act of Settlement, be in communion with the eſtabliſhed church; a proviſion, in our minds, unexceptionable and convenient, but which affords no argument, though it has often been abſurdly adduced, for the excluſion of diſſenters from any offices of which ſubjects are capable. But a King, it will be ſaid, may, like Charles II., preſerve a diſſembling conformity with the eſtabliſhment, while he meditates its ſubverſion. Be it ſo: what ſtronger argument can be brought againſt the efficacy of excluſive teſts? If a King can be proteſtant in form, but not in ſubſtance, what ſecurity can we have againſt the employment of miniſters, equally inſincere, equally prevaricating with himſelf? Though Clifford ſhrunk from the teſt impoſed in 1672, were Lauderdale and Sunderland leſs apt for the work of tyranny? Did zeal for any ſort of religion animate Buckingham and Shafteſbury? Did not a diſguiſed attachment to the church of Rome lurk in the heart of Arlington, while teſts and declarations were upon his lips? It is not in the barriers of reſtrictive law, it is not in the ſeal of ſolemn engagements, that we muſt look for ſecurity againſt ſuch treachery as the cabinet of the ſe-

cond Charles concealed. If the general ſtate of religious tolerance, which certainly borders upon indifference, did not render the ſuppoſition of a Britiſh Sovereign, who ſhould riſk his throne, like James II., for the ſake of Popery, more extravagant than the dreams of a feveriſh man, it would be ſufficient to rely on the ſtrength of the conſtitution; not ſtruggling, as under the Stuarts, againſt undefined and lawleſs prerogative, but invulnerable, we truſt, by any force which the moſt deſpotic prince could employ; ſecured by annual ſeſſions of Parliament, by annual Mutiny-acts, and, ſtill more, by popular ſentiment and long habits of freedom, againſt thoſe violent and illegal ſtretches of power, which the patriots of former ages victoriouſly reſiſted.

This is the ſimple ſtatement of the queſtion, which, if preſented to the mind without any ſuperfluous and irrelevant declamation, leaves, we think, no room for heſitation as to the admiſſion of Iriſh, and conſequently Britiſh Catholics, both to the Legiſlature and to official ſtations. There are, however, ſome other topics, which it is worth while to notice, and which have been treated by Sir J. Throckmorton with conſiderable knowledge of his ſubject, as well as good ſenſe. With reſpect to the oath of ſupremacy, after admitting, that every ſtate, in the words attributed to Lord Ellenborough, claiming and exerciſing independent powers of ſovereignty, poſſeſſes the right of binding its ſubjects by law, not only paramount to, but excluſive of any authority or controul exerciſeable by any other ſtate whatſoever; he juſtifies the Catholics in their refuſal of this oath, becauſe they conceive that ſomething more is required by it, than an acknowledgement of the independent authority of the ſtate; namely, a renunciation of the power of ſpiritual juriſdiction, which they believe to reſide in the Roman pontiff. To define this juriſdiction, he admits, in a manner that ſhall preclude all miſconception, is not eaſy; and indeed the notion of ſupremacy is, we believe, equally vague, as applied by Catholics to the Pope, or by the language of Engliſh law to the King. The following obſervations are juſt and candid.

'Perhaps, it may not be well underſtood, when the King is talked of, as the "ſupreme head" of the Eſtabliſhed Church, what is meant by that ſupremacy. No diſtinct idea, I am confident, is entertained of it; at leaſt, no ſuch idea I have been able to collect from converſation, or from books. Be it then allowed, that the primacy of the Roman biſhop *may be* liable to ſome miſconception. When it is ſaid, that the King is the ſovereign lord of all his ſubjects, of whatever degree or eſtate they be, eccleſiaſtical or temporal; that, in virtue of this ſovereign rule, no foreign power, as has been obſerved, ſhall, or ought to, have any ſuperiority over them; that, as the political head over the Church

Church and all its members, he convenes, prorogues, diſſolves, regulates, and reſtrains ſynods or convocations, appoints or recommends to biſhoprics and certain other eccleſiaſtical preferments; that the judicature of eccleſiaſtical cauſes is within the ſphere of his cognizance; that, though he challenges no authority or power of miniſtry of divine offices in the Church, and conſequently can convey no power properly ſpiritual, ſuch as is the power of order in the Epiſcopal miniſtry, yet that the collation of external dioceſan juriſdiction attaches to his prerogative: when, I ſay, on the ſubject of the King's ſupremacy, theſe poſitions only are advanced, it ſeems to me (though I plainly perceive that I am got out of my depth), that nothing more is conceded, than what, in ancient time, was due to, and exerciſed by, the imperial Crown of this realm; than what was conſidered as an eſſential portion of the royal prerogative in France, and in other Catholic countries; and what, by the Concordat, the preſent French ruler exerciſes; and what, finally, is not adverſe to, and deſtructive of, that primacy of the Roman biſhop, properly underſtood, which has been, and may be exerciſed in well regulated ſtates.

'I muſt repeat, that my knowledge of theſe matters is very limited: but ſhould the queſtion be as thus ſtated, it muſt be admitted, that the alarms, on both ſides, are founded on miſapprehenſions; that Proteſtants fear the introduction of the papal power, becauſe they know not what is meant by it, and raiſe the whole ſtructure of their alarms on the hiſtorical fact of its former manifold abuſes; and that Catholics draw back at the ſound of kingly ſupremacy, becauſe they conceive, that a power, ſtrictly ſpiritual, is meant to be connected with it. It is a misfortune, in the conflict of human opinions, that the moſt appropriate words are not choſen; to which, had attention been given, I apprehend, in ſpeaking of the King's ſupremacy, the word *ſpiritual* would hardly have been adopted. The term *eccleſiaſtical* alone might have cauſed leſs difficulty, though this would have been highly improper.' p. 47.

If, however, the oath of ſupremacy ſhould either be repealed, or taken by the Catholics, another obſtacle remains, in the ſhape of a legiſlative proviſion, to which, from prejudices in ſome degree laudable, an extraordinary importance has by many good men been attached. We allude to the teſt act, impoſed by the 25th of Charles II., which renders the reception of the ſacrament, according to the rites of the Church of England, and with certain forms and atteſtations preſcribed in the ſtatute, a neceſſary qualification for any civil or military officer. Though the admiſſion of Roman Catholics to ſuch ſtations was never contemplated from the time of the Revolution till a recent period, yet this law, which, whatever may have been the object of thoſe who framed it, did, in fact, operate as an excluſion of Proteſtant diſſenters, has at different times been the ſubject of much keen

diſcuſſion, both from the preſs, and within the walls of parliament. The abolition of ſuch reſtrictions as affect Proteſtants, is not the queſtion immediately before us; but as it is very intimately connected with that which is, and as an indiſtinct apprehenſion of conventicles and meeting-houſes ſeems to weigh with many perſons, who are not unwilling to grant indulgences to the Catholics, it may be proper to ſtate, very briefly, what is the practical efficacy of this pretended bulwark of the Church.

In the *firſt* place, it is no teſt of approving the Church of England, either in doctrine or diſcipline; it preſcribes only a ſingle rite, concerning which ſome petty ſcruples once exiſted in the minds of diſſenters; to which, whenever at leaſt their own intereſt is concerned, few of them any longer pay attention. Not long after the Revolution, the practice of what was called occaſional conformity, of qualifying for the ſake of offices, particularly in corporations, became ſo prevalent, that the end of the teſt, ſo far as it went to reſtrain Proteſtant diſſenters, was nearly defeated. During the reign of Anne, ſeveral attempts were made by the High Church party, to prevent, by more ſtrict enactments, what they termed a baſe and hypocritical evaſion; and the conſent of the Whigs to a bill levelled at this practice, is ſaid to have been the price of Lord Nottingham's acceſſion to their ſide in the year 1711. This is meant by that ludicrous chapter in the hiſtory of John Bull, when Jack is perſuaded by Don Diego to hang himſelf, in the expectation of being cut down by Sir Roger. Not long after the acceſſion, however, of George I., in the year 1719, the prevalence of Whig counſels, which, except againſt Catholics, have been uniformly tolerant, led to a repeal of this act, and of other acts, by which the Tory miniſtry of Anne had gratified the zeal or panic of the orthodox. That zeal and that panic were, in this inſtance, as uſual, without ſenſe or foreſight; the accommodating ſpirit, which they wiſhed to check in the diſſenters, was the reſult of increaſing liberality and moderation; thoſe who left the meeting-houſe for intereſt, forgot to return for devotion; and the laſt century has witneſſed the ſilent decay of that diſſenting party, when peaceful and unmoleſted, which withſtood the fury of Laud, and the acrimony of Sheldon. Some indeed there yet remain, who ſhrink from the notion of conformity, ſtaunch and ſturdy diſciples of the puritanical ſchool. Are theſe kept aloof by the ſtatute of Charles? Are the mace and the furry robe, the emblems of municipal majeſty, denied to ſuch as theſe? Look to the annual acts of indemnity; acts paſſing as regularly, and with as little notice, as the moſt ordinary forms of the houſes of parliament. By that, for inſtance, paſſed in March 1806, all perſons who have neglected to qualify themſelves as required

quired by law, are fully indemnified and freed from all penalties and diſabilities, unleſs *final judgment* ſhall have been obtained againſt them. It is provided, indeed, that they muſt duly qualify before the 25th of December 1806. But as the act has been, for a length of time, annually renewed, it is morally certain, that any man neglecting to comply with this proviſion, will be relieved by another act, either before the time ſhall elapſe, or at leaſt before final judgment can be obtained againſt him. Accordingly, ſcarce any perſon, we believe, in civil or military truſt, whatever his religious opinions may be, takes the trouble of obſerving the regulations of the teſt act. This annual indemnity, as Sir J. Throckmorton very truly obſerves, is equivalent to its complete annulment. The origin of this ſyſtem of diſpenſation he ſuppoſes to have been a diſpoſition to favour the Scotch, whoſe rigid preſbyterianiſm, we admit, has not been found altogether to exclude them from very comfortable poſts in South Britain. 'Why, it may be aſked,' he proceeds, 'do not Catholics avail themſelves of this act of indemnity? In certain caſes they do; but they apprehend that, to ſome minds, it might have the appearance of occaſional conformity; and therefore they rather ſubmit to the regular operation of the ſtatute.' We believe that the caſe is rather, that few opportunities have been given to them of craving the aid of theſe indemnity acts, except in military commiſſions, which have for ſome years been filled in numberleſs inſtances with a total diſregard of this notable barrier of the eſtabliſhment, from the brave and ancient gentry of the Catholic perſuaſion in Ireland.

But if theſe conceſſions are made, it is natural to inquire, will the Catholics be ſatisfied? Will not ſucceſs lead to further encroachments; and the miſtreſs of their wiſhes, ſo fondly named emancipation, be ſcorned after enjoyment? Have they not, for thirty years, been gaining ground, at each ſtep profeſſing to terminate their deſires, and ſtill repining for more? To this it might be ſufficient to anſwer, that, when we have done full juſtice, neither our right nor our power to reſiſt exorbitant claims will be impaired. But why is it ſo certain that we ſhall have ſuch claims to reſiſt? Intemperate and ambitious men there will be in all mixed bodies, and, we fear, the Iriſh Catholics are not without their ſhare of them; but, after all that has been ſaid of popular blindneſs and fury, there is a wonderful difference between the effect of real and imaginary grievances. Fair and honeſt policy in government is, as it were, the flail of faction: the light and fooliſh, the violent and deſigning, are ſeparated by it from ſenſible and well-meaning men, who mix reluctantly in public diſputes, and quit them when their object is attained. In the earlieſt age

of the Roman republic, the patrician families alone were admitted to ſtations of honour and national truſt. The ſtruggles of the people againſt this excluſion were, for a long time, though never ſanguinary, violent and unremitting; the conceſſion of lower privileges led only to the demand of higher; till every diſtinction was abrogated, which ſtood in the way of aſpiring merit. From the time that the conſulate and prieſthood were opened to the plebeians, early in the fifth century of Rome, her diſcuſſions ceaſed; the vibrating balance of the conſtitution found its poiſe; and, during a period of two centuries, ſcarce any domeſtic factions retarded or embittered the conqueſt of the world. But it would be going much too far to aſſert, that, by acceding to the prayer of the Catholic petition, we ſhould apply a radical cure to that unhappy diſaffection, which has prevailed among the peaſantry of Ireland. Nor do we think, that no meaſures of conciliation, or, if the word pleaſe better, conceſſion, ſhould be taken, beyond thoſe which we have been immediately conſidering. We have never ſeen any project for the commutation of tithes in England, which ſeemed likely to preſerve, in the long-run, the rights of the clergy unimpaired. But we appeal to any candid man, who has looked at the ſtatement given above, reſpecting the church of Ireland, whether the intereſts of an eſtabliſhment, ſo notoriouſly incompetent, from external circumſtances, to its duties, ought to be regarded with extreme favour. Lands, too, are more generally held in Ireland upon freehold leaſes, than in England, which throws the burden of tithes more upon the tenant; and their collection is, we believe, more frequently *in kind*, and, of conſequence, more odious than in the latter country. The maintenance of the Catholic prieſts by Government has often been ſuggeſted. It is no ſlight evil, however, for a country ſinking under the weight of taxes, to ſupport a double hierarchy; and ſome ſhare of the expence might, perhaps, without injuſtice, be defrayed from the revenues of the preſent eſtabliſhment, in pariſhes where almoſt every inhabitant is a Catholic. The author has ſketched a plan for the removal of jealouſies between the two ſects, which is worthy of notice. But, we fear, that he ſpeaks his own ſentiments rather than thoſe of his caſt; and promiſes more, in the liberal turn of his mind, for the Romiſh prieſts of Ireland, than, unleſs they are much belied, they will readily undertake.

'*Ifly*, Without attempting the abſurd expedient of ſuppreſſing the hierarchy in an Epiſcopal church, Government has only to ſignify, that it is their wiſh that the King, in future, ſhall have the nomination of the Catholic biſhops. This will be conceded. The mode of election or nomination has often varied; but it now generally is lodged in the

the hands of the Prince, who, in Catholic countries, as was ſettled in the late French Concordat, after his nomination, allows the elected biſhop to apply to the Roman ſee for canonical *confirmation* or *inſtitution*. And by this act, agreeably to what the late pontiff termed *the new diſcipline (ex nova diſciplina)*, is underſtood to be maintained as well the union or communion, which ſhould ever ſubſiſt between the head and its members, as alſo that *juriſdiction* to be acknowledged, which Catholics believe eſſentially to belong to the primacy of the biſhop of Rome.

'In regard to the *fealty* or *allegiance*, which at his conſecration, each biſhop promiſes to him, if it mean any thing, it means too much: if nothing, it is abſurd, and degrades a ſolemn ceremony. This Epiſcopal oath, as it is called, found its way into the church in feudal times, when the Roman biſhops, in imitation of other princes, viewed themſelves as ſovereign lords, and all churchmen as their vaſſals. The biſhop, therefore, did homage in the hands of the conſecrator, the ſuppoſed repreſentative of his Holineſs. But as the days of feudal ſlavery have paſſed away, why has not this oath paſſed with them? Its language evidently denotes its feudal origin. The biſhop promiſes, "that he will from that hour forward be faithful and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to his lord the Pope, and his ſucceſſors, canonically entering: that the papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of Saint Peter, he will keep, maintain, and defend againſt all men: that the rights, privileges, and authorities of the Roman church, and of the Pope, and of his ſucceſſors, he will cauſe to be conſerved, defended, augmented, and promoted."—Let there be no more of this. One obnoxious clauſe, "that heretics, ſchiſmatics, and rebels to the holy father and his ſucceſſors, he will reſiſt and to his power perſecute," is now, I underſtand, omitted, by the expreſs permiſſion of the Pope, "it being his particular wiſh," ſay the cardinals in their letter, "to avoid whatever could give umbrage in Great Britain and Ireland." The whole oath gives umbrage to every thinking man, and ſhould therefore be expunged, yet the French biſhops, I believe ſince the Concordat, continue to take it. Napoleon knows how to value words; but words, as I obſerved, void of meaning, diſhonour the lips that utter them. It ſhould not, however, be concealed, that the court of Rome views them in another light, and will ſurrender no more of this feudal oath, unleſs urged to it by the irreſiſtible demand of Government. The expreſſion of vaſſalage, though no more than a ſound, is ever pleaſing to the ear of power, and brings to remembrance the days of former greatneſs.

'*2dly*, The parochial clergy, I underſtand, are now appointed by the dioceſan; but if Government can be prevailed on to allow them moderate ſalaries, and ſhall judge proper to regulate their appointments in any other form, I conceive it will meet with no difficulties. I was ſhocked to hear a legal officer of the Crown lament, that a college had been founded for the education of Catholic clergy. The ignorance of the

the Iriſh peaſantry has often been deplored; and foreign education, which was not a matter of choice, has often been made a ſubject of reproach: but now, it ſeems, no education muſt be allowed, foreign or domeſtic. "What would the learned gentleman do with the Catholics?" exclaimed an Iriſh member. "Would he have them brought up in the groſſeſt ignorance? Would he permit them no place of education, by which they might be rendered uſeful members of ſociety, and good and loyal ſubjects? Or would he have them ſent out of the country to be educated in the ſeminaries of that Pope, of whoſe principles he has ſo great a dread, and to whoſe power he thinks it neceſſary to oppoſe ſuch ſtrong and formidable barriers?"

'3*dly*, The nomination of the biſhops, and the appointment of the parochial clergy being regulated, the next meaſure, I conceive, muſt be, firſt to ſettle in what manner external diſcipline, in holding any courts, and the celebration of marriages, ſhall be adminiſtered; and then, which is moſt important, diſtinctly to define, through what channel communications with the Roman ſee ſhall be permitted. This channel muſt be public, let us ſay, one of the offices of Government. Much trouble need not be apprehended; for the communications would not be frequent; but, when they happened, the ſubject or inſtrument ſhould be open for inſpection, as likewiſe any brief, reſcript, or monition, or diſpenſation, or whatever anſwer might be tranſmitted in return.

'With what facility might ſuch regulations be made, and, when made, and adhered to, what cauſe could there any longer be for ſuſpicions, and for any fear of this foreign ſovereignty? and the Iriſh prelacy, I flatter myſelf, if they have not already taken the ſubject into conſideration, will delay no longer doing it, and will be ready, before Parliament ſhall again reſume the ſubject, to lay before Government a detailed plan of regulations. The redreſs of grievances ſeems to be in their own hands.' p. 148.

The ſtyle of this pamphlet is looſe and incorrect; and the general character of the reaſoning is not vigorous nor impreſſive. The merits of the cauſe, however, are diſtinct from the merits of the book; and upon theſe, we confeſs, our opinion is decided. Whatever may be the cloud of popular prejudices at preſent with reſpect to this momentous queſtion, we can ſcarcely doubt, (if, in the perils of the time, we may venture to look on to futurity), that the voice of juſtice and policy will finally prevail. The ſeeds of truth will bear fruit in due ſeaſon, if neither the blight wither, nor the tempeſt ſcatter them before their time. In the mean time, to be conſcious that we have failed in nothing through our own folly or narrowneſs of views—that we have met the conflict with all our combined and united energies, muſt be an encouragement in danger, and even a conſolation in ruin.

ART.

ART. VII. *The Complete Works, in Philoſophy, Politics, and Morals, of the late Dr Benjamin Franklin. Now firſt collected and arranged. With Memoirs of his Early Life, written by Himſelf.* 3 vol. 8vo. pp. 1450. Johnſon, London. 1806.

NOTHING, we think, can ſhew more clearly, the ſingular want of literary enterprize or activity, in the States of America, than that no one has yet been found in that flouriſhing republic, to collect and publiſh the works of their only philoſopher. It is not even very creditable to the liberal curioſity of the Engliſh public, that there ſhould have been no complete edition of the writings of Dr Franklin, till the year 1806: and we ſhould have been altogether unable to account for the imperfect and unſatisfactory manner in which the taſk has now been performed, if it had not been for a ſtatement in the prefatory advertiſement, which removes all blame from the editor, to attach it to a higher quarter. It is there ſtated, that recently after the death of the author, his grandſon, to whom the whole of his papers had been bequeathed, made a voyage to London, for the purpoſe of preparing and diſpoſing of a complete collection of all his publiſhed and unpubliſhed writings, with memoirs of his life, brought down by himſelf to the year 1757, and continued to his death by his deſcendant. It was ſettled, that the work ſhould be publiſhed in three quarto volumes, in England, Germany, and France; and a negotiation was commenced with the bookſellers, as to the terms of the purchaſe and publication. At this ſtage of the buſineſs, however, the propoſals were ſuddenly withdrawn, and nothing more has been heard of the work in this its fair and natural market. "The proprietor, it ſeems, "had found a bidder of a different deſcription, in *ſome emiſſary* "*of Government*, whoſe object was to *withhold* the manuſcripts "from the world, not to benefit it by their publication; and "they thus either paſſed into other hands, or the perſon to "whom they were bequeathed received a remuneration for *ſup*-"*preſſing* them."

If this ſtatement be correct, we have no heſitation in ſaying, that no emiſſary of Government was ever employed on a more miſerable and unworthy ſervice. It is ludicrous to talk of the danger of diſcloſing, in 1795, any ſecrets of ſtate, with regard to the war of American independence; and as to any anecdotes or obſervations that might give offence to individuals, we think it ſhould always be remembered, that public functionaries are the property of the public, that their character belongs to hiſtory and to poſterity, and that it is equally abſurd and diſcreditable

creditable to think of *ſuppreſſing* any part of the evidence by which their merits muſt be ultimately determined. But the whole of the works that have been ſuppreſſed, certainly did not relate to republican politics. The hiſtory of the author's life, down to 1757, could not well contain any matter of offence; and a variety of general remarks and ſpeculations which he is underſtood to have left behind him, might have been permitted to ſee the light, though his diplomatic operations had been interdicted. The emiſſary of Government, however, probably took no care of theſe things; he was reſolved 'to leave no rubs nor botches in his work;' and, to ſtifle the dreaded revelation, he thought the beſt way was to ſtrangle all the innocents in the vicinage.

Imperfect as the work now before us neceſſarily is, we think the public is very much indebted to its editor. It is preſented in a cheap and unoſtentatious form; and though it contains little that has not been already printed as the compoſition of the author, and does not often ſettle any point of diſputed authenticity in a ſatisfactory manner, it ſeems, on the whole, to have been compiled with ſufficient diligence, and arranged with conſiderable judgment. Few writings, indeed, require the aid of a commentator leſs than thoſe of Dr Franklin; and though this editor is rather too ſparing of his preſence, we are infinitely better ſatisfied to be left now and then to our conjectures, than to be encumbered with the explanations, and overpowered with the loquacity of a more officious attendant.

We do not propoſe to give any thing like a regular account of the papers contained in theſe volumes. The beſt of them have long been familiar to the public; and there are many which it was proper to preſerve, that cannot now be made intereſting to the general reader. Dr Franklin, however, is too great a man to be allowed to walk paſt without ſome obſervation; and our readers, we are perſuaded, will eaſily forgive us, if we yield to the temptation of making a few remarks on his character.

This ſelf-taught American is the moſt rational, perhaps, of all philoſophers. He never loſes ſight of common ſenſe in any of his ſpeculations; and when his philoſophy does not conſiſt entirely in its fair and vigorous application, it is always regulated and controuled by it in its application and reſult. No individual, perhaps, ever poſſeſſed a juſter underſtanding, or was ſo ſeldom obſtructed in the uſe of it by indolence, enthuſiaſm, or authority.

Dr Franklin received no regular education; and he ſpent the greater part of his life in a ſociety where there was no reliſh, and no encouragement for literature. On an ordinary mind, theſe circumſtances would have produced their uſual effects, of repreſſing

repreſſing all ſort of intellectual ambition or activity, and perpetuating a generation of incurious mechanics; but to an underſtanding like Franklin's, we cannot help conſidering them as peculiarly propitious, and imagine that we can trace back to them, diſtinctly, almoſt all the peculiarities of his intellectual character.

Regular education, we think, is unfavourable to vigour or originality of underſtanding. Like civilization, it makes ſociety more intelligent and agreeable; but it levels the diſtinctions of nature. It ſtrengthens and aſſiſts the feeble; but it deprives the ſtrong of his triumph, and caſts down the hopes of the aſpiring. It accompliſhes this, not only by training up the mind in an habitual veneration for authorities, but, by leading us to beſtow a diſproportionate degree of attention upon ſtudies that are only valuable as keys or inſtruments for the underſtanding, they come at laſt to be regarded as ultimate objects of purſuit; and the means of education are abſurdly miſtaken for its end. How many powerful underſtandings have been loſt in the Dialectics of Ariſtotle! and of how much good philoſophy are we daily defrauded, by the prepoſterous error of taking a knowledge of proſody for uſeful learning! The mind of a man, who has eſcaped this training, will at leaſt have fair play. Whatever other errors he may fall into, he will be ſafe at leaſt from theſe infatuations. If he thinks proper, after he grows up, to ſtudy Greek, it will be for ſome better purpoſe than to become acquainted with its dialects. His prejudices will be thoſe of a man, and not of a ſchoolboy; and his ſpeculations and concluſions will be independent of the maxims of tutors, and the oracles of literary patrons.

The conſequences of living in a refined and literary community, are nearly of the ſame kind with thoſe of a regular education. There are ſo many critics to be ſatisfied—ſo many qualifications to be eſtabliſhed—ſo many rivals to encounter, and ſo much deriſion to be hazarded, that a young man is apt to be deterred from ſo perilous an enterprize, and led to ſeek for diſtinction in ſome ſafer line of exertion. He is diſcouraged by the fame and the perfection of certain models and favourites, who are always in the mouths of his judges, and, 'under them, his genius is rebuked,' and his originality repreſſed, till he ſinks into a paltry copyiſt, or aims at diſtinction, by extravagance and affectation. In ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, he feels that mediocrity has no chance of diſtinction; and what beginner can expect to riſe at once into excellence? He imagines that mere good ſenſe will attract no attention; and that the manner is of much more importance than the matter, in a candidate for public admiration. In his attention to the manner, the matter is apt to be neglected; and, in his ſolicitude to pleaſe thoſe who require elegance of diction, brilliancy

brilliancy of wit, or harmony of periods, he is in ſome danger of forgetting that ſtrength of reaſon, and accuracy of obſervation, by which he firſt propoſed to recommend himſelf. His attention, when extended to ſo many collateral objects, is no longer vigorous or collected,—the ſtream, divided into ſo many channels, ceaſes to flow either deep or ſtrong;—he becomes an unſucceſsful pretender to fine writing, and is ſatisfied with the frivolous praiſe of elegance or vivacity.

We are diſpoſed to aſcribe ſo much power to theſe obſtructions to intellectual originality, that we cannot help fancying, that, if Franklin had been bred in a college, he would have contented himſelf with expounding the metres of Pindar, and mixing argument with his port in the common room; and that if Boſton had abounded with men of letters, he would never have ventured to come forth from his printing-houſe, or been driven back to it, at any rate, by the ſneers of the critics, after the firſt publication of his eſſays in the Buſy Body.

This will probably be thought exaggerated; but it cannot be denied, we think, that the contrary circumſtances in his hiſtory had a powerful effect in determining the character of his underſtanding, and in producing thoſe peculiar habits of reaſoning and inveſtigation by which his writings are diſtinguiſhed. He was encouraged to publiſh, becauſe there was ſcarcely any one around him whom he could not eaſily excel. He wrote with great brevity, becauſe he had not leiſure for more voluminous compoſitions, and becauſe he knew that the readers to whom he addreſſed himſelf were, for the moſt part, as buſy as himſelf. For the ſame reaſon, he ſtudied great perſpicuity and ſimplicity of ſtatement: his countrymen had no reliſh for fine writing, and could not eaſily be made to underſtand a deduction depending on a long or elaborate proceſs of reaſoning. He was forced, therefore, to concentrate what he had to ſay; and ſince he had no chance of being admired for the beauty of his compoſition, it was natural for him to aim at making an impreſſion by the force and the clearneſs of his ſtatements.

His concluſions were often raſh and inaccurate, from the ſame circumſtances which rendered his productions conciſe. Philoſophy and ſpeculation did not form the buſineſs of his life; nor did he dedicate himſelf to any particular ſtudy, with a view to exhauſt and complete the inveſtigation of it in all its parts, and under all its relations. He engaged in every intereſting inquiry that ſuggeſted itſelf to him, rather as the neceſſary exerciſe of a powerful and active mind, than as a taſk which he had bound himſelf to perform. He caſt a quick and penetrating glance over the facts and the *data* that were preſented to him; and drew his

his concluſions with a rapidity and preciſion that have not often been equalled; but he did not ſtop to examine the completeneſs of the *data* upon which he proceeded, nor to conſider the ultimate effect or application of the principles to which he had been conducted. In all queſtions, therefore, where the facts upon which he was to determine, and the materials from which his judgment was to be formed, were either few in number, or of ſuch a nature as not to be overlooked, his reaſonings are for the moſt part perfectly juſt and concluſive, and his deciſions unexceptionably ſound; but where the elements of the calculation were more numerous and widely ſcattered, it appears to us that he has often been precipitate, and that he has either been miſled by a partial apprehenſion of the conditions of the problem, or has diſcovered only a portion of the truth which lay before him. In all phyſical inquiries; in almoſt all queſtions of particular and immediate policy; and in much of what relates to the practical wiſdom and the happineſs of private life, his views will be found to be admirable, and the reaſoning by which they are ſupported moſt maſterly and convincing. But upon ſubjects of general politics, of abſtract morality, and political economy, his notions appear to be more unſatisfactory and incomplete. He ſeems to have wanted leiſure, and perhaps inclination alſo, to ſpread out before him the whole vaſt premiſes of theſe extenſive ſciences, and ſcarcely to have had patience to hunt for his concluſions through ſo wide and intricate a region as that upon which they invited him to enter. He has been ſatisfied, therefore, on every occaſion, with reaſoning from a very limited view of the facts, and often from a particular inſtance: he has done all that ſagacity and ſound ſenſe could do with ſuch materials; but it cannot excite wonder, if he has ſometimes overlooked an eſſential part of the argument, and often advanced a particular truth into the place of a general principle. He ſeldom reaſoned upon theſe ſubjects at all, we believe, without having ſome practical application of them immediately in view; and as he began the inveſtigation rather to determine a particular caſe, than to eſtabliſh a general maxim, ſo he probably deſiſted as ſoon as he had relieved himſelf of the preſent difficulty.

There are not many among the thorough bred ſcholars and philoſophers of Europe, who can lay claim to diſtinction in more than one or two departments of ſcience or literature. The uneducated tradeſman of America has left writings that call for our attention, in natural philoſophy,—in politics,—in political economy,—and in general literature and morality.

Of his labours in the department of *Phyſics*, we do not propoſe to ſay much. They were almoſt all ſuggeſted by views of utility

utility in the beginning, and were, without exception, applied, we believe, to promote thoſe views in the end. His letters upon *Electricity* have been more extenſively circulated than any of his other writings; and are entitled to more praiſe and popularity than they ſeem ever to have met with in this country. Nothing can be more admirable than the luminous and graphical preciſion with which the experiments are narrated; the ingenuity with which they are projected; and the ſagacity with which the concluſion is inferred, limited, and confirmed.

The moſt remarkable thing, however, in theſe, and, indeed, in the whole of his phyſical ſpeculations, is the unparalleled ſimplicity and facility with which the reader is conducted from one ſtage of the inquiry to another. The author never appears for a moment to labour, or to be at a loſs. The moſt ingenious and profound explanations are ſuggeſted, as if they were the moſt natural and obvious way of accounting for the phenomena; and the author ſeems to value himſelf ſo little on his moſt important diſcoveries, that it is neceſſary to compare him with others, before we can form a juſt notion of his merits. As he ſeems to be conſcious of no exertion, he feels no partiality for any part of his ſpeculations, and never ſeeks to raiſe the reader's idea of their importance, by any arts of declamation or eloquence. Indeed, the habitual preciſion of his conceptions, and his invariable practice of referring to ſpecific facts and obſervations, ſecured him, in a great meaſure, both from thoſe extravagant conjectures in which ſo many naturaliſts have indulged, and from the zeal and enthuſiaſm which ſeems ſo naturally to be engendered in their defence. He was by no means averſe to give ſcope to his imagination, in ſuggeſting a variety of explanations of obſcure and unmanageable phenomena; but he never allowed himſelf to confound theſe vague and conjectural theories with the ſolid reſults of experience and obſervation. In his Meteorological papers, and in his Obſervations upon Heat and Light, there is a great deal of ſuch bold and original ſuggeſtions; but the author evidently ſets little value upon them; and has no ſooner diſburdened his mind of the impreſſions from which they proceeded, than he ſeems to diſmiſs them entirely from his conſideration, and turns to the legitimate philoſophy of experiment with unabated diligence and humility. As an inſtance of this diſpoſition, we may quote part of a letter to the Abbé Soulavie, upon a new Theory of the Earth, which he propoſes and diſmiſſes, without concern or anxiety, in the courſe of a few ſentences; though, if the idea had fallen upon the brain of an European philoſopher, it might have germinated into a volume of eloquence, like Buffon's, or an infinite array of paragraphs and obſervations, like thoſe of Parkinſon or Dr Hutton.

After remarking, that there are manifold indications of ſome of the higheſt parts of the land having been formerly covered by the ſea, Dr Franklin obſerves—

'Such changes in the ſuperficial parts of the globe, ſeemed to me unlikely to happen, if the earth were ſolid to the centre. I therefore imagined, that the internal parts might be a fluid more denſe, and of greater ſpecific gravity than any of the ſolids we are acquainted with, which therefore might ſwim in or upon that fluid. Thus the ſurface of the globe would be a ſhell, capable of being broken and diſordered by the violent movements of the fluid on which it reſted. And as air has been compreſſed by art ſo as to be twice as denſe as water, and as we know not yet the degree of denſity to which air may be compreſſed, and M. Amontons calculated, that its denſity increaſing as it approached the centre, in the ſame proportion as above the ſurface, it would, at the depth of leagues, be heavier than gold, poſſibly the denſe fluid occupying the internal parts of the globe might be air compreſſed. And as the force of expanſion in denſe air, when heated, is in proportion to its denſity, this central air might afford another agent to move the ſurface, as well as be of uſe in keeping alive the ſubterraneous fires; though, as you obſerve, the ſudden rarefaction of water coming into contact with thoſe fires, may alſo be an agent ſufficiently ſtrong for that purpoſe, when acting between the incumbent earth and the fluid on which it reſts.

'If one might indulge imagination in ſuppoſing how ſuch a globe was formed, I ſhould conceive, that all the elements in ſeparate particles being originally mixed in confuſion, and occupying a great ſpace, they would (as ſoon as the almighty fiat ordained gravity, or the mutual attraction of certain parts, and the mutual repulſion of others, to exiſt) all move to their common centre: that the air being a fluid, whoſe parts repel each other, though drawn to the common centre by their gravity, would be denſeſt towards the centre, and rarer as more remote: conſequently, all matters lighter than the central parts of that air, and immerſed in it, would recede from the centre, and riſe till they arrived at that region of the air which was of the ſame ſpecific gravity with themſelves, where they would reſt; while other matter, mixed with the lighter air, would deſcend, and the two meeting would form the ſhell of the firſt earth, leaving the upper atmoſphere nearly clear. The original movement of the parts towards their common centre, would naturally form a whirl there; which would continue upon the turning of the new-formed globe upon its axis, and the greateſt diameter of the ſhell would be in its equator. If, by any accident afterwards, the axis ſhould be changed, the denſe internal fluid, by altering its form, muſt burſt the ſhell, and throw all its ſubſtance into the confuſion in which we find it. I will not trouble you at preſent with my fancies concerning the manner of forming the reſt of our ſyſtem. Superior beings ſmile at our theories, and at our preſumption in making them.' Vol. II. p. 117—19.

He afterwards makes his theory much finer and more extravagant, by combining with it a very wild ſpeculation upon magnetiſm; and, notwithſtanding the additional temptation of this new piece of ingenuity, he abandons it in the end with as much unconcern, as if he had had no ſhare in the making of it. We ſhall add the whole paſſage.

'It has long been a ſuppoſition of mine, that the iron contained in the ſurface of the globe has made it capable of becoming, as it is, a great magnet; that the fluid of magnetiſm perhaps exiſts in all ſpace; ſo that there is a magnetical north and ſouth of the univerſe, as well as of this globe, and that if it were poſſible for a man to fly from ſtar to ſtar, he might govern his courſe by the compaſs; that it was by the power of this general magnetiſm this globe became a particular magnet. In ſoft or hot iron the fluid of magnetiſm is naturally diffuſed equally; when within the influence of the magnet it is drawn to one end of the iron, made denſer there and rarer at the other. While the iron continues ſoft and hot, it is only a temporary magnet; if it cools or grows hard in that ſituation, it becomes a permanent one, the magnetic fluid not eaſily reſuming its equilibrium. Perhaps it may be owing to the permanent magnetiſm of this globe, which it had not at firſt, that its axis is at preſent kept parallel to itſelf, and not liable to the changes it formerly ſuffered, which occaſioned the rupture of its ſhell, the ſubmerſions and emerſions of its lands, and the confuſion of its ſeaſons. The preſent polar and equatorial diameters differing from each other near ten leagues, it is eaſy to conceive, in caſe ſome power ſhould ſhift the axis gradually, and place it in the preſent equator, and make the new equator paſs through the preſent poles, what a ſinking of the waters would happen in the preſent equatorial regions, and what a riſing in the preſent polar regions; ſo that vaſt tracts would be diſcovered, that now are under water, and others covered, that are now dry, the water riſing and ſinking in the different extremes near five leagues. Such an operation as this poſſibly occaſioned much of Europe, and among the reſt this Mountain of Paſſy on which I live, and which is compoſed of limeſtone rock and ſea-ſhells, to be abandoned by the ſea, and to change its ancient climate, which ſeems to have been a hot one. The globe being now become a perfect magnet, we are, perhaps, ſafe from any change of its axis. But we are ſtill ſubject to the accidents on the ſurface, which are occaſioned by a wave in the internal ponderous fluid; and ſuch a wave is producible by the ſudden violent exploſion you mention, happening from the junction of water and fire under the earth, which not only lifts the incumbent earth that is over the exploſion, but impreſſing with the ſame force the fluid under it, creates a wave, that may run a thouſand leagues, lifting, and thereby ſhaking, ſucceſſively, all the countries under which it paſſes. I know not, whether I have expreſſed myſelf ſo clearly, as not to get out of your ſight in theſe reveries. If they occaſion any new inquiries, and produce a better hypotheſis, they will not be quite uſeleſs. You ſee I have given

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a looſe to imagination; but I approve much more your method of philoſophizing, which proceeds upon actual obſervation, makes a collection of facts, and concludes no farther than thoſe facts will warrant. In my preſent circumſtances, that mode of ſtudying the nature of the globe is out of my power, and therefore I have permitted myſelf to wander a little in the wilds of fancy.' II. 119—121.

Our limits will not permit us to make any analyſis of the other phyſical papers contained in this collection. They are all admirable for the clearneſs of the deſcription, the felicity and familiarity of the illuſtrations, and the ſingular ſagacity of the remarks with which they are interſperſed. The theory of whirlwinds and water-ſpouts, as well as the obſervations on the courſe of the winds and on cold, ſeem to be excellent. The paper called Maritime Obſervations is full of ingenuity and practical good ſenſe; and the remarks on evaporation, and on the tides, moſt of which are contained in a ſeries of letters to a young lady, are admirable, not merely for their perſpicuity, but for the intereſt and amuſement they are calculated to communicate to every deſcription of readers. The remarks on fire-places and ſmoky chimnies, are infinitely more original, conciſe, and ſcientific, than thoſe of Count Rumford; and the obſervations on the Gulph-ſtream afford, we believe, the firſt example of juſt theory, and accurate inveſtigation, applied to that phenomenon.

Dr Franklin, we think, has never made uſe of the mathematics, in his inveſtigation of the phenomena of nature; and though this may render it ſurpriſing that he has fallen into ſo few errors of importance, we conceive that it helps in ſome meaſure to explain the unequalled perſpicuity and vivacity of his expoſitions. An algebraiſt, who can work wonders with letters, ſeldom condeſcends to be much indebted to words, and thinks himſelf entitled to make his ſentences obſcure, provided his calculations be diſtinct. A writer who has nothing but words to make uſe of, muſt make all the uſe he can of them: he cannot afford to neglect the only chance he has of being underſtood.

We ſhould now ſay ſomething of the political writings of Dr Franklin,—the productions which firſt raiſed him into public office and eminence, and which will be leaſt read or attended to by poſterity. They may be divided into two parts; thoſe which relate to the internal affairs and provincial differences of the American colonies, before their quarrel with the mother country; and thoſe which relate to that quarrel and its conſequences. The former are no longer in any degree intereſting: and the editor has done wiſely, we think, in preſenting his readers with an abſtract only of the longeſt of them: this was publiſhed in 1759, under the title of an Hiſtorical Review of the Conſtitution of Penſylvania, and conſiſted of upwards of 500 pages, compoſed

for the purpoſe of ſhewing that the political privileges reſerved to the founder of the colony had been illegally and oppreſſively uſed. The Canada pamphlet, written in 1760, for the purpoſe of pointing out the importance of retaining that colony at the peace, is given entire; and appears to be compoſed with great force of reaſon, and in a ſtyle of extraordinary perſpicuity. The ſame may be ſaid of what are called the Albany Papers, or the plan for a general political union of the colonies in 1754; and of a variety of other tracts on the provincial politics of that day. All theſe are worth preſerving, both as monuments of Dr Franklin's talents and activity, and as affording, in many places, very excellent models of ſtrong reaſoning and popular eloquence; but the intereſt of the ſubjects is now completely gone by: and the few ſpecimens of general reaſoning which we meet with ſerve only to increaſe our regret, that the talents of the author ſhould have been waſted on ſuch periſhable materials.

There is not much written on the ſubject of the diſpute with the colonies; and moſt of Dr Franklin's papers on that ſubject are already well known to the public. His examination before the Houſe of Commons in 1766, affords a ſtriking proof of the extent of his information, the clearneſs and force of his *extempore* compoſition, and the ſteadineſs and ſelf-poſſeſſion, which enabled him to diſplay theſe qualities with ſo much effect upon ſuch an occaſion. His letters before the commencement of hoſtilities, are full of grief and anxiety; but, no ſooner did matters come to extremities, than he appears to have aſſumed a certain keen and confident cheerfulneſs, not unmixed with a ſeaſoning of aſperity, and more vindictiveneſs of ſpirit than perhaps became a philoſopher. In a letter written in October 1775, he expreſſes himſelf in this manner.

'Tell our dear good friend * * *, who ſometimes has his doubts and deſpondencies about our firmneſs, that America is determined and unanimous; a very few Tories and placemen excepted, who will probably ſoon export themſelves. Britain, at the expence of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankies this campaign, which is 20,000l. a head; and, at Bunker's Hill, ſhe gained a mile of ground, half of which ſhe loſt again by our taking poſt on Ploughed Hill. During the ſame time, ſixty thouſand children have been born in America. From theſe *data*, his mathematical head will eaſily calculate the time and expence neceſſary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory.' (III. 357-8.)

The following letters, which paſſed between Dr Franklin and Lord Howe, when his Lordſhip arrived off the American coaſt with what were called the pacificatory propoſals in 1776, ſhow not only the conſideration in which the former was held by the Noble Commiſſioner, but contain a very ſtriking and prophetic ſtatement

ſtatement of the conſequences to be apprehended from the perſeverance of Great Britain in her ſchemes of compulſion. His Lordſhip writes, in June 1776,

'I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels, which I have ſent (in the ſtate I received them), to be landed, without adding a word upon the ſubject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy diſputes have engaged us.

'You will learn the nature of my miſſion, from the official deſpatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the ſame conveyance. Retaining all the earneſtneſs I ever expreſſed, to ſee our differences accommodated; I ſhall conceive, if I meet with the diſpoſition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the moſt flattering hopes of proving ſerviceable in the objects of the King's paternal ſolicitude, by promoting the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union with the Colonies. But, if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the neceſſity of preventing her trade from paſſing into foreign channels, muſt keep us ſtill a divided people, I ſhall, from every private as well as public motive, moſt heartily lament, that this is not the moment wherein thoſe great objects of my ambition are to be attained, and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to aſſure you, perſonally, of the regard with which I am, &c.' (III. 365–7.)

Dr Franklin anſwered—

'I received ſafe the letters your Lordſhip ſo kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept *my* thanks.

'The official deſpatches to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had ſeen in the act of Parliament, viz. "Offers of pardon upon ſubmiſſion;" which I was ſorry to find; as it muſt give your Lordſhip pain to be ſent ſo far on ſo hopeleſs a buſineſs.

'Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expreſſes indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baſeneſs, and inſenſibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleaſed to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increaſing our reſentments.—It is impoſſible we ſhould think of ſubmiſſion to a government that has, with the moſt wanton barbarity and cruelty, burned our defenceleſs towns in the midſt of winter; excited the ſavages to maſſacre our (peaceful) farmers; and our ſlaves to murder their maſters; and is even now * bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our ſettlements with blood. Theſe atrocious injuries have extinguiſhed every ſpark of affection for that parent country we once held ſo dear: but, were it poſſible for *us* to forget and forgive them, it is not poſſible for *you* (I mean the Britiſh nation) to forgive the people you have ſo heavily injured; you can never confide again in thoſe as fellow-ſubjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom you know you have given ſuch juſt cauſes of laſting enmity; and this muſt impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the

* About this time the Heſſians, &c. had juſt arrived from Europe at Staten Iſland and New York. B. V.

breaking our ſpirit by the ſevereſt tyranny, and obſtructing, by every means in your power, our growing ſtrength and proſperity.

'But your Lordſhip mentions "the King's paternal ſolicitude for promoting the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union with the Colonies." If by *peace* is here meant, a peace to be entered into by diſtinct ſtates, now at war; and his Majeſty has given your Lordſhip powers to treat with us of ſuch a peace; I may venture to ſay, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpoſe not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances. But I am perſuaded you have no ſuch powers. Your nation, though, by puniſhing thoſe American governors who have fomented the diſcord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing as far as poſſible the miſchiefs done us, ſhe might recover a great ſhare of our regard; and the greateſt ſhare of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional ſtrength, to be derived from a friendſhip with us; yet I know too well her abounding pride and deficient wiſdom, to believe ſhe will ever take ſuch ſalutary meaſures. Her fondneſs for conqueſt as a warlike nation; her luſt of dominion as an ambitious one; and her thirſt for a gainful monopoly as a commercial one (none of them legitimate cauſes of war), will join to hide from her eyes every view of her true intereſt, and continually goad her on in theſe ruinous diſtant expeditions, ſo deſtructive both of lives and of treaſure, that they muſt prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croiſades formerly were to moſt of the nations of Europe.

'I have not the vanity, my Lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions; not to be believed till the event ſhall verify it.

'Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preſerve from breaking that fine and noble porcelain vaſe—the Britiſh empire; for I knew that, being once broken, the ſeparate parts could not retain even their *ſhare* of the ſtrength and value that exiſted in the whole; and that a perfect reunion of thoſe parts could ſcarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordſhip may poſſibly remember the tears of joy that wetted my cheek, when, at your good ſiſter's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might ſoon take place. I had the misfortune to find theſe expectations diſappointed, and to be treated as the cauſe of the miſchief I was labouring to prevent. My conſolation under that groundleſs and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendſhip of many wiſe and good men in that country; and, among the reſt, ſome ſhare in the regard of Lord Howe.

'The well-founded eſteem, and, permit me to ſay, affection, which I ſhall always have for your Lordſhip, make it painful to me to ſee you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which (as deſcribed in your letter) is "the neceſſity of preventing the American *trade* from paſſing into foreign channels." To me it ſeems, that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable ſoever, is an object for which men may juſtly ſpill each other's blood; that the true and ſure means of extending and ſecuring commerce, are the goodneſs and

cheapneſs

cheapneſs of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I conſider this war againſt us, therefore, as both unjuſt and unwiſe; and I am perſuaded, that cool and diſpaſſionate poſterity will condemn to infamy thoſe who adviſed it; and that even ſucceſs will not ſave from ſome degree of diſhonour, thoſe who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

'I know your great motive in coming hither, was the hope of being inſtrumental in a reconciliation; and I believe, when you find that to be impoſſible, on any terms given you to propoſe, you will then relinquiſh ſo odious a command, and return to a more honourable private ſtation.

'With the greateſt and moſt ſincere reſpect, I have the honour to be,' &c. (III. 367—371.)

None of Dr Franklin's political writings, during the nine years when he reſided as Ambaſſador at the Court of France, have yet been made public. Some of them, we ſhould imagine, muſt be highly intereſting.

Of the merit of this author as a political economiſt, we have already had occaſion to ſay ſomething, in the general remarks which we made on the character of his genius; and we cannot now ſpare time to go much into particulars. He is perfectly ſound upon many important and practical points;—upon the corn-trade, and the theory of money, for inſtance; and alſo upon the more general doctrines, as to the freedom of commerce, and the principle of population. In the more elementary and abſtract parts of the ſcience, however, his views ſeem to have been leſs juſt and luminous. He is not very conſiſtent or profound, in what he ſays of the effects of luxury; and ſeems to have gone headlong into the radical error of the *Economiſtes*, when he maintains, that all that is done by manufacture, is to embody the value of the manufacturer's ſubſiſtence in his work, and that agriculture is the only ſource from which a real increaſe of wealth can be derived. Another favourite poſition is, that all commerce is *cheating*, where a commodity, produced by a certain quantity of labour, is exchanged for another, on which more labour has been expended; and that the only *fair* price of any thing, is ſome other thing requiring the ſame exertion to bring it to market. This is evidently a very narrow and erroneous view of the nature of commerce. The fair price to the purchaſer is, whatever he deliberately chuſes to give, rather than go without the commodity;—it is no matter to him, whether the ſeller beſtowed much or little labour upon it, or whether it came into his poſſeſſion without any labour at all;—whether it be a diamond, which he picked up, or a picture, at which he had been working for years. The commodity is not valued by the purchaſer,

on account of the labour which is ſuppoſed to be embodied in it, but ſolely on account of certain qualities, which he finds convenient or agreeable; he compares the convenience and delight which he expects to derive from this object, with the convenience and delight which is afforded by the things aſked in exchange for it; and if he find the former preponderate, he conſents to the exchange, and makes a beneficial bargain. We have ſtated the caſe in the name of a purchaſer, becauſe, in barter, both parties are truly purchaſers, and act upon the ſame principles; and it is eaſy to ſhew, that all commerce reſolves itſelf ultimately into barter. There can be no unfairneſs in trade, except where there is concealment on the part of the ſeller, either of the defects of the commodity, or of the fact that the purchaſer may be ſupplied with it at a cheaper rate by another. It is a matter of *fact*, but not of *morality*, that the price of moſt commodities will be influenced by the labour employed in producing them.—If they are capable of being produced in unlimited quantities, the competition of the producers will ſink the price very nearly to what is neceſſary to maintain this labour; and the impoſſibility of continuing the production, without repaying that labour, will prevent it from ſinking lower. The doctrine does not apply at all, to caſes where the materials, or the ſkill neceſſary to work them up, are ſcarce in proportion to the demand. The author's ſpeculation on the effects of paper-money, ſeem alſo to be ſuperficial and inaccurate. *Statiſtics* had not been carefully ſtudied in the days of his activity; and, accordingly, we meet with a good deal of looſe aſſumption, and ſweeping calculation, in his writings. Yet he had a genius for exact obſervation, and complicated detail; and probably wanted nothing but leiſure, to have made very great advances in this branch of economy.

As a writer on morality and general literature, the merits of Dr Franklin cannot be eſtimated properly, without taking into conſideration the peculiarities, that have been already alluded to, in his early hiſtory and ſituation. He never had the benefit of any academical inſtruction, nor of the ſociety of men of letters;—his ſtyle was formed entirely by his own judgement and occaſional reading; and moſt of his moral pieces were written while he was a tradeſman, addreſſing himſelf to the tradeſmen of his native city. We cannot expect, therefore, either that he ſhould write with extraordinary elegance or grace; or that he ſhould treat of the accompliſhments, follies, and occupations of polite life. He had no great occaſion, as a moraliſt, to expoſe the guilt and the folly of gaming or ſeduction; or to point a poignant and playful ridicule againſt the lighter immoralities of faſhionable life. To

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the mechanics and traders of Boſton and Philadelphia, ſuch warnings were altogether unneceſſary; and he endeavoured, therefore, with more appropriate eloquence, to impreſs upon them the importance of induſtry, ſobriety, and economy, and to direct their wiſe and humble ambition to the attainment of uſeful knowledge and honourable independence. That morality, after all, is certainly the moſt valuable, which is adapted to the circumſtances of the greater part of mankind; and that eloquence is the moſt meritorious, that is calculated to convince and perſuade the multitude to virtue. Nothing can be more perfectly and beautifully adapted to its object, than moſt of Dr Franklin's compoſitions of this ſort. The tone of familiarity, of good-will, and homely jocularity—the plain and pointed illuſtrations—the ſhort ſentences, made up of ſhort words—and the ſtrong ſenſe, clear information, and obvious conviction of the author himſelf, make moſt of his moral exhortations perfect models of popular eloquence; and afford the fineſt ſpecimens of a ſtyle which has been but too little cultivated in a country, which numbers perhaps more than 100,000 readers among its tradeſmen and artificers.

In writings which poſſeſs ſuch ſolid and unuſual merit, it is of no great conſequence that the faſtidious eye of a critic can diſcover many blemiſhes. There is a good deal of vulgarity in the practical writings of Dr Franklin; and more vulgarity than was any way neceſſary for the object he had in view. There is ſomething childiſh, too, in ſome of his attempts at pleaſantry: his ſtory of the Whiſtle, and his Pariſian letter, announcing the diſcovery that the ſun gives light as ſoon as he riſes, are inſtances of this. The ſoliloquy of an Ephemeris, however, is much better; and both it, and the Dialogue with the Gout, are executed with the lightneſs and ſpirit of genuine French compoſitions. The Speech in the Divan of Algiers, compoſed as a parody on thoſe of the defenders of the ſlave-trade, and the ſcriptural parable againſt perſecution, are inimitable;—they have all the point and facility of the fine pleaſantries of Swift and Arbuthnot, with ſomething more of directneſs and apparent ſincerity.

The ſtyle of his letters, in general, is excellent. They are chiefly remarkable, for great ſimplicity of language, admirable good ſenſe and ingenuity, and an amiable and inoffenſive cheerfulneſs, that is never overclouded or eclipſed. Among the moſt valuable of the writings that are publiſhed for the firſt time, in the preſent edition, are four letters from Dr Franklin to Mr Whatley, written within a few years of his death, and expreſſive of all that unbroken gayety, philanthropy and activity, which diſtinguiſh the compoſitions of his earlier years. We give with pleaſure the following extracts.

'I am not acquainted with the ſaying of Alphonſus, which you allude to as a ſanctification of your rigidity, in refuſing to allow me the plea of old age as an excuſe for my want of exactitude in correſpondence. What was that ſaying?—You do not, it ſeems, feel any occaſion for ſuch an excuſe, though you are, as you ſay, riſing 75, but I am riſing (perhaps more properly falling) 80—and I leave the excuſe with you till you arrive at that age; perhaps you may then be more ſenſible of its validity, and ſee fit to uſe it for yourſelf.

'I muſt agree with you, that the gout is bad, and that the ſtone is worſe. I am happy in not having them both together; and I join in your prayer, that you may live till you die without either. But I doubt the author of the epitaph you ſent me is a little miſtaken, when, ſpeaking of the world, he ſays, that

——————"He ne'er car'd a pin
What they ſaid or may ſay of the mortal within."

'It is ſo natural to wiſh to be well ſpoken of, whether alive or dead, that I imagine he could not be quite exempt from that deſire, and that at leaſt he wiſhed to be thought a wit, or he would not have given himſelf the trouble of writing ſo good an epitaph to leave behind him.'—'You ſee I have ſome reaſon to wiſh that in a future ſtate I may not only be *as well as I was*, but a little better. And I hope it: for I, too, with your poet, *truſt in God*. And when I obſerve, that there is great frugality as well as wiſdom in his works, ſince he has been evidently ſparing, both of labour and materials; for by the various wonderful inventions of propagation, he has provided for the continual peopling his world with plants and animals, without being at the trouble of repeated new creations; and by the natural reduction of compound ſubſtances to their original elements, capable of being employed in new compoſitions, he has prevented the neceſſity of creating new matter; for that the earth, water, air, and perhaps fire, which being compounded, form wood, do, when the wood is diſſolved, return, and again become air, earth, fire and water:—I ſay, that when I ſee nothing annihilated, and not even a drop of water waſted, I cannot ſuſpect the annihilation of ſouls, or believe that he will ſuffer the daily waſte of millions of minds ready made that now exiſt, and put himſelf to the continual trouble of making new ones. Thus finding myſelf to exiſt in the world, I believe I ſhall in ſome ſhape or other always exiſt. And with all the inconveniences human *life* is liable to, I ſhall not object to a new edition of mine; hoping, however, that the errata of the laſt may be corrected.' Vol. III. p. 546—548.

'Our conſtitution ſeems not to be well underſtood with you. If the congreſs were a permanent body, there would be more reaſon in being jealous of giving it powers. But its members are choſen annually, and cannot be choſen more than three years ſucceſſively, nor more than three years in ſeven; and any of them may be recalled at any time, whenever their conſtituents ſhall be diſſatisfied with their conduct. They are of the people, and return again to mix with the people, having no more durable preeminence than the different grains of ſand in an hour-glaſs.

glaſs. Such an aſſembly cannot eaſily become dangerous to liberty. They are the ſervants of the people, ſent together to do the people's buſineſs, and promote the public welfare; their powers muſt be ſufficient, or their duties cannot be performed. They have no profitable appointments, but a mere payment of daily wages, ſuch as are ſcarcely equivalent to their expences; ſo that, having no chance for great places and enormous ſalaries or penſions, as in ſome countries, there is no intriguing or bribing for elections. I wiſh old England were as happy in its government, but I do not ſee it. Your people, however, think their conſtitution the beſt in the world, and affect to deſpiſe ours. It is comfortable to have a good opinion of one's ſelf, and of every thing that belongs to us; to think one's own religion, king, and wife, the beſt of all poſſible wives, kings, and religions. I remember three Greenlanders, who had travelled two years in Europe, under the care of ſome Moravian miſſionaries, and had viſited Germany, Denmark, Holland and England; when I aſked them at Philadelphia (when they were in their way home) whether, now they had ſeen how much more commodiouſly the white people lived by the help of the arts, they would not chooſe to remain among us—their anſwer was, that they were pleaſed with having had an opportunity of ſeeing many fine things, *but they chooſe to live in their own country:* which country, by the way, conſiſted of rock only; for the Moravians were obliged to carry earth in their ſhip from New York, for the purpoſe of making there a cabbage garden!' III. 550. 551.

'You are now 78, and I am 82. You tread faſt upon my heels: but, though you have more ſtrength and ſpirit, you cannot come up with me till I ſtop, which muſt now be ſoon; for I am grown ſo old as to have buried moſt of the friends of my youth; and I now often hear perſons, whom I knew when children, called *old* Mr ſuch a one, to diſtinguiſh them from their ſons, now men grown, and in buſineſs; ſo that, by living twelve years beyond *David*'s period, I ſeem to have intruded myſelf into the company of poſterity, when I ought to have been abed and aſleep. Yet had I gone at 70, it would have cut off twelve of the moſt active years of my life, employed, too, in matters of the greateſt importance; but whether I have been doing good or miſchief, is for time to diſcover. I only know that I intended well, and I hope all will end well.

'Be ſo good as to preſent my affectionate reſpects to Dr Rowley. I am under great obligations to him, and ſhall write to him ſhortly. It will be a pleaſure to him to hear that my malady does not grow ſenſibly worſe, and that is a great point; for it has always been ſo tolerable, as not to prevent my enjoying the pleaſures of ſociety, and being cheerful in converſation. I owe this in a great meaſure to his good counſels.' III. 555. 556.

'Your eyes muſt continue very good, ſince you are able to write ſo ſmall a hand without ſpectacles. I cannot diſtinguiſh a letter even of large print, but am happy in the invention of double ſpectacles, which, ſerving

ſerving for diſtant objects as well as near ones, make my eyes as uſeful to me as ever they were. If all the other defects and infirmities of old age could be as eaſily and cheaply remedied, it would be worth while, my friend, to live a good deal longer. But I look upon death to be as neceſſary to our conſtitutions as ſleep. We ſhall riſe refreſhed in the morning.—Adieu, and believe me ever, &c.' III. 544. 545.

There is ſomething extremely amiable in old age, when thus exhibited without querulouſneſs, diſcontent, or impatience, and free, at the ſame time, from any affected or unbecoming levity. We think there muſt be many more of Dr Franklin's letters in exiſtence, than have yet been given to the public; and from the tone and tenor of thoſe which we have ſeen, we are ſatisfied that they would be read with general avidity and improvement.

His account of his own life, down to the year 1730, has been in the hands of the public ſince 1790. It is written with great ſimplicity and livelineſs, though it contains too many trifling details and anecdotes of obſcure individuals. It affords a ſtriking example of the irreſiſtible force with which talents and induſtry bear upwards in ſociety, as well as an impreſſive illuſtration of the ſubſtantial wiſdom and good policy of invariable integrity and candour. We ſhould think it a very uſeful reading for all young perſons of unſteady principle, who have their fortunes to make or to mend in the world.

Upon the whole, we look upon the life and writings of Dr Franklin as affording a ſtriking illuſtration of the incalculable value of a ſound and well directed underſtanding, and of the comparative uſeleſsneſs of learning and laborious accompliſhments. Without the ſlighteſt pretenſions to the character of a ſcholar or a man of ſcience, he has extended the bounds of human knowledge on a variety of ſubjects, which ſcholars and men of ſcience had previouſly inveſtigated without ſucceſs; and has only been found deficient in thoſe ſtudies which the learned have generally turned from in diſdain. We would not be underſtood to ſay any thing in diſparagement of ſcholarſhip and ſcience; but the value of theſe inſtruments is apt to be overrated by their poſſeſſors; and it is a wholeſome mortification, to ſhew them that the work may be done without them. We have long known, that their employment does not enſure its ſucceſs.

Art.

ART. VIII. *Memoires d'un Voyageur qui ſe repoſe: Contenant des Anecdotes Hiſtoriques, Politiques et Literaires, relatives à pluſieurs des principaux Perſonages du Siecle.* Trois Volumes. 8vo. pp. 900. Londres. Dulau. 1806.

THE work which this affected title announces, turns out to be a rambling, goſſiping life of Mr Dutens, well known as the author of an Itinerary, a book on the ancient anticipations of modern diſcoveries, and ſeveral trifles in the antiquarian and literary line. We acknowledge ourſelves in a good degree diſappointed by the execution of the preſent undertaking. One who enjoyed ſo many opportunities of cultivating the acquaintance of celebrated characters,—who has lived above half a century in good ſociety in various parts of Europe,—who has generally paſſed for an agreeable companion, and, as ſuch, muſt have, in converſation, the art of narration, might have been expected to fill a ſmall number of volumes with many more ſtriking paſſages and intereſting anecdotes than can be diſcovered in the performance now before us. We by no means intend to aſſert, that it is either dull or ill written; but it contains far leſs intereſting matter than we had a right to expect from the opportunities and talents of the author. We proceed, however, to make our readers acquainted with Mr Dutens, who, of courſe, forms the chief ſubject of the book.

Mr Dutens, or, as he calls himſelf throughout this work, Duchillon, is a member of a very ancient family in France. He was educated, as uſually happens to thoſe who write their own lives, by the moſt tender of parents, and paſſed his early years in reading poems, romances, and books of a ſimilar deſcription. From thence he roſe to a ſlight acquaintance with writers of hiſtory and morals, until, by degrees, he arrived at that age when the heart begins to feel '*un ſentiment inexplicable,—ſentiment amer et doux,—ſource d'inquietudes et de plaiſirs.*' In ſhort, he fell deſperately in love with a ſchoolmaſter's daughter, who, according to the faſhion of all damſels of this deſcription, immediately returned his flame, and inſiſted on his naming the marriage-day inſtantly. He applied to his father for this purpoſe, and poured out to him his whole heart; but love it ſhould ſeem wanted its uſual eloquence on that occaſion; for the only anſwer which old Mr Dutens thought proper to give, was a ſound box on the ear, 'intimating thereby, with ſufficient preciſion, that the propoſition was not at all to his liking.' The chagrin which this failure occaſioned, made our author ſuddenly and ſecretly quit his father's houſe, and take the road to Angers, where his evil genius

genius ſtill purſued him, and he again fell in love with his landlord's daughter, who proved as complaiſant as his former love had been. But her father took umbrage at his addreſſes, and drove him from the premiſes, ſo that he was obliged to ſet out for Nantz. Here the ſame planet continued to rule his deſtiny, and a third unſucceſsful paſſion drove him away—to Paris; whither he repaired, with the true taſte of a Frenchman in deſpair, to ſee the *fêtes* which were then about to be celebrated for the peace. His firſt occupation, on arriving in the capital, was to write a tragedy, which was of courſe rejected. His next was to reſume his old vocation, and fall in love with a lady of all manner of perfections. With her he was on the eve of accompliſhing his union, when her enraged parent arrived and hurried her away from his ſight, leaving him in the parlour of the boarding ſchool overwhelmed with unruly grief, and with difficulty kept by the reſt of the miſſes from daſhing his head to pieces againſt the wall.

Our author's family were rigid Proteſtants, and expoſed to all the intolerable perſecutions which awaited the diſſenters from the Catholic church in France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Of theſe he had a very near view in his own houſe. The archbiſhop of his dioceſe ordered to be carried off by force, from the arms of his parents, a ſiſter twelve years old, in order to have her ſhut up in a convent. No intreaties, addreſſed either to the miniſtry or the prelate, could obtain the ſlighteſt relaxation of this cruel order; the young woman was detained during four years; at the end of which, ſhe abjured the religion of her father in ſelf-defence, and took the veil. We muſt here, for a moment, interrupt our narrative, to contemplate, in paſſing, the wretchedneſs of a country which groaned under oppreſſions like theſe. With all the complicated evils which the revolution has entailed upon France, it is perhaps enough to ſtate, that religious toleration,—the abolition of ſuch odious tyranny as appears in the incidental circumſtance juſt now related, has been ſecured by this mighty event, in order to prove that, upon the whole, France has rather gained than ſuffered by the change. At any rate, we muſt admit, that the conſideration of thoſe powers, veſted in the church over the diſſenters, fully juſtified our author in the reſolution, which the fate of his ſiſter induced him to form, of leaving a country ſo inhoſpitable to the beſt and moſt induſtrious part of her children. He accordingly once more quitted his father's houſe, and ſet out for England, with the intention of making it his adopted home.

In his way to the coaſt, he paſſed through a town where two Engliſh ladies were reſiding for the benefit of their health. Hearing

Hearing that one of these was Miss Pitt, sister of the Minister, he contrived to procure an introduction to them; and with that talent of subserviency, which never failed him through life, he made himself, in a short time, rather necessary to their existence, than agreeable to their society.—'*Je me conduisis si bien*,' says he, '*dans cette maison, que l'on ne pouvoit plus s'y passer de moi.*' He also fell desperately in love, for the fifth time, with Miss Taylor, the companion of Miss Pitt, who returned his passion with equal ardour; whom he soon after met again in England, where they exchanged mutual vows of eternal fidelity; and whom he instantly gave over all thoughts of; at least we hear no more of her through the whole course of the memoirs. From Miss Pitt he received a letter for her brother, the late Lord Chatham, who at first received him kindly, and then suddenly shut his door against him, in consequence of his sister having had some words with one of our author's relatives in France. After a short and unprofitable stay in England, he returned to his father's house, and fell sick. During a dangerous illness and tedious recovery, he was nursed by his sister, and taught religion; a lesson to which he owes his whole future happiness; and what he states as much more unmingled and exalted, the undeviating rectitude and unsullied purity of his whole subsequent life. In truth, we have not happened before to fall in with so perfect a character as these memoirs present to us. Mr Dutens candidly and frequently confesses, that, unfashionable as it may appear, his nature is blameless; and his conduct, in thought, word, and deed, for a period of fourscore years, altogether devoid of impropriety. Not that he glories in these high gifts. On the contrary, his motto is always '*Deo laus.*' He ascribes every thing to the salutary influence of religion.

Thus fortified and fitted out anew, he returned to London, and was soon after received into the family of a Mr Wyche, as tutor to his son. He now found, rather inopportunely, that he had grievously neglected his own education, and that he knew none of the things which he had been hired to teach. By incessant labour, however, he contrived to keep somewhat ahead of his pupil; and when, at length, Mr Wyche descried his ignorance of the higher branches of learning, he very amiably took upon himself the instruction both of his son and his tutor. In this worthy family, our author seems to have passed several very tranquil, profitable, and happy years. He describes his way of life with great feeling, and has excited, in his reader, no small interest in behalf of his amiable friends, when, unfortunately, his pupil dies. This event plunged him into a state of grief, not easily exceeded by any imagination, and he continued so absorbed

ed for six months. The instruction of a young sister of his deceased pupil, born deaf and dumb, was the first occupation in which he could interest himself. By degrees he was more and more engaged by this pursuit; and, at last, he and his fair pupil became inseparable. But it is always the fate of Mr Dutens to be fallen in love with by his female friends; and Miss Wyche soon proved a most desperate lover. Ignorant of the forms and proprieties of life, she even went so far as to make a pretty bold attempt on our immaculate author's person. He, too, was not without senses and passions; but, on this trying emergency, where all morality must have failed, religion came to his aid, and saved him; insomuch, that he resolutely stopt the young lady in her singular pursuit, and took occasion to give her a concise dissertation on the nature of the matrimonial institution, the state of society, and other points of learning, for which, at that time, she seems to have had no great appetite. But the author must tell this story himself.

'Miss Wyche conçût de l'inclination pour moi. Un jour que nous etions seuls, et dans mon appartement, apres m'avoir fait quelques-unes de ces caresses que je regardois comme tres innocentes, et auxquelles je m'étois preté avec la même intention, elle témoigna moins de retenue qu'à l'ordinaire. J'avoue que je fus embarrassé de savoir en ce moment quel parti prendre: j'étois dans l'âge où les passions parlent fortement au cœur; j'avois une tendresse pour ma jolie éleve, que je croyois fondée à la vérité sur la compassion; mais ne pouvois-je pas m'être fait illusion? et les charmes d'une jeune fille de dix-huit ans n'étoient-ils pas plus propres à m'avoir inspiré ce sentiment que sa situation infortunée? Quel que fût le motif de l'intérêt que je prenois à elle, heureusement la consideration de ce que je devois à moi-même, à une famille respectable, à l'honneur, à la religion, se présentérent en foule à mon esprit: j'eus presque honte d'avoir hésité, et je retins Mademoiselle Wyche d'une main, en lui serrant la main de l'autre, pour adoucir mon refus. Elle fut étonnée et même un peu confondue de ma résistance; elle me fit des reproches de mon peu d'empressement, et m'en demanda la raison. Je savois bien qu'il étoit inutile de lui parler de bon ordre nécessaire à la société, qui se maintient par le mariage, et que de ces deux principes naissent les régles de la décence et de la chasteté; cependant je hasardai de lui tenir à peu près ce langage, qui lui parut encore plus incompréhensible que celui que j'avois tenu sur la divinité. Enfin, lasse de ma morale, qu'elle n'entendoit point, elle me quitta fort mécontente de moi. Le lendemain elle me boudoit; je cherchai à la ramener, et je ne fus pas long-temps à y réussir; mais je ne fis ma paix que pour résumer le sujet de la veille: tout ce qu'elle avoit compris de mes raisons, avoit été que le mariage rendoit les caresses légitimes. Elle me demanda si elle avoit bien entendu? Je dis qu'oui. Eh bien! reprit-elle, marions-nous donc, et ne me tourmentez plus avec vos lois et vos régles. Je lui dis

dis qu'il falloit avoir le consentement de son père et de sa mère, qui peut-etre ne voudroient pas le donner; mais que je penserois au moyen de lever cette difficulté. Elle se retira plus contente de moi ce jour-là; mais je vis bien qu'elle n'étoit pas d'humeur à me laisser long-temps tranquille sur ce chapitre.' I. 93, 94.

The consequence of this adventure was, that, to avoid being married by Miss Wyche, he left the house, and accepted the offer of a gentleman going to Turin on a diplomatic mission, and who was in want of a private secretary.

Accordingly, he set out for Turin with Mr Mackenzie Stuart, brother of Lord Bute, and very soon, after his manner, became absolutely necessary to his patron's existence. At Turin, he enjoyed, of course, all the good society which belonged to the place; and which constantly received additions and varieties from the passage of travellers through that great thoroughfare of Italy. How far Mr Dutens profited by such enviable opportunities, must be decided by the experience of those who have known him in private life, and not altogether by his own general assertions. That his written life has benefited much less than it might have done, by his intercourse with eminent characters, may be safely affirmed. We meet with few good descriptions, either of manners or individuals; and not many anecdotes which, from their liveliness or instructiveness, deserve to be noticed. The two which follow are a very favourable specimen of his talent in this line; and are certainly somewhat interesting, as well from the celebrity of the men who are their subjects, as from the neatness of the narration:

'Une autre fois, nous parlions de l'avarice du fameux Duc de Marlborough; et je disois que je ne pouvois croire ce que l'on m'avoit dit de lui, qu'un soir, dans un tête-à-tête, il eût éteint une des deux bougies qui brûloient dans sa chambre. Cela est pourtant vrai, dit vivement le Marquis (de Breille), c'étoit avec moi: le Prince Eugène m'envoya un soir lui donner avis de quelque disposition qu'il faisoit pour une attaque le lendemain. Le Duc de Marlborough étoit déjà couché, on l'éveilla: je fus introduit auprès de son lit; un valet-de-chambre posa deux bougies sur la table de nuit, et se retira. Au commencement de la conversation, qui sembloit devoir être longue, le Duc de Marlborough, tout en m'écoutant, mit sans rien dire l'éteignoir sur une des bougies qui brûloient, et continua de prêter attention à ce que j'avois ordre de lui dire.' Vol. I. p. 108.

The other anecdote relates to Prince Kaunitz, and was communicated to our author by Count de Torre Palma, formerly Spanish ambassador at Vienna.

'Il crut s'apercevoir, à cette Cour, qu'on voyoit ses lettres; un jour, surtout, il fit remarquer à son secrétaire, avant de les décacheter, qu'un tel paquet devoit avoir été ouvert; et il en fut convaincu un moment

après, lorſqu'ayant trouvé une dépêche qui n'étoit point ſignée, ſon ſecrétaire reconnut l'écriture pour être de main Allemande, et non Eſpagnole, et l'aſſura qu'elle étoit écrite de la main d'un des commis du Bureau des Affaires Etrangères. Il produiſit même des papiers donnés en réponſe à quelques-uns de leurs mémoires, qui ne laiſsèrent plus lieu de douter de la vérité du fait ; et ils s'imaginèrent aiſément que, dans la précipitation où ces choſes ſe font ordinairement dans les Bureaux, on avoit remis, dans l'enveloppe du paquet, la copie de la dépêche, au lieu de l'original. L'Ambaſſadeur, ſans perdre de temps, ſe tranſporte chez le Prince de Kaunitz ; il eſt admis : Mon Prince, dit-il, ordonnez, je vous prie, que vos commis me reſtituent ma dépêche, dont ils m'ont envoyé ſeulement la copie, et gardé l'original. Ah ! M. l'Ambaſſadeur, dit le Prince, ſans paroître embarraſſé, je vous demande mille pardons de la peine que vous avez eue ; ces étourdis me font tous les jours de pareils traits. Diſant cela, il ſonne, et fait appeler un de ſes ſecrétaires : Allons donc, Monſieur, rendez la dépêche de M. l'Ambaſſadeur, dont il n'a reçu que la copie ; et apprenez une autre fois à ne point faire de tels *quiproquo*. Et quand la dépêche fut produite : M. l'Ambaſſadeur, dit le Prince, en la lui remettant, je ſuis mortifié que leur ſottiſe vous ait occaſionné ce dérangement ; et il le reconduiſit fort poliment, ſans paroître attacher plus d'importance à la bévue qui lui attiroit cette viſite.' Vol. I. p. 117. 118.

When Mr Mackenzie, his principal, was obliged to return home, our author, though a Frenchman, and at a period when this country was at war with France, was left our *chargé d'affaires* at the court of Turin. It is needleſs to add, that he perſormed the functions of his office to admiration ; and he ſtrictly purſued alſo the line of undeviating morality. In all the intrigues of court, as well as in affairs of the heart, he aſſures us, his conduct was pure and exemplary. Not a blot could ever attach to his name. Nor was this owing, ſays he, as ſome ſuperficial obſervers conceived, to philoſophy. That would, he affirms, be paying philoſophy too great a compliment—'*La religion ſeule peut fournir des armes à l'epreuve des traits de l'amour, et de la volupté. Heureuſement pour moi, je n'ai jamais perdu de vue une reſſource auſſi efficace qu'elle eſt ſalutaire.*' The rigid obſervance of truth and ſincerity was one of the innovations which his principles made him introduce into his new profeſſion. He talks much of this, and cites an inſtance of his fruſtrating a political deſign of his principal, and incurring his indignation, by refuſing to ſay *yes* inſtead of *no* on an immaterial occaſion. After theſe *tirades*, the reader who is aware of this ſpecies of moraliſt, is led to expect ſome ſignal example of unfairneſs and duplicity. Accordingly, five pages after the above remarks, we find Mr Dutens relating how, in order to gain credit with the miniſtry in his new functions, he concealed certain information of importance from his principal, who

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was alſo his patron and benefactor, and wrote it in a deſpatch to Mr Pitt the very day of his departure.

After filling this very reſpectable ſtation for ſeveral months, he returned to England by the way of Paris. There he made himſelf agreeable to the Engliſh whom he happened to meet; and had an opportunity in their company of ſeeing Sterne, of whom he relates the following anecdote, being one among many proofs of that ſentimental perſon's contemptible character.

'Nous étions au temps de l'anniverſaire de la naiſſance du Roi d'Angleterre: Milord Taviſtock invita, ce jour-là, le peu d'Anglois qui étoient à Paris, à dîner avec lui pour le célébrer. Je fus de la partie, où je ne trouvai de ma connoiſſance que ceux avec qui j'étois venu à Paris. Je fus aſſis entre Milord Berkeley, qui alloit à Turin, et le fameux *Sterne*, auteur de *Triſtram Shandy*, regardé comme le Rabelais de l'Angleterre. On fut fort gai pendant le dîner, et l'on but à l'Angloiſe, et ſelon le jour. La converſation vint à tomber ſur Turin, où pluſieurs de la compagnie alloient; ſur quoi M. Sterne m'adreſſant la parole, me demanda ſi j'y connoiſſois M. D*** en me nommant; je lui dis qu'oui, et même fort intimement. Toute la compagnie ſe prit à rire; et Sterne, qui ne me croyoit pas ſi près de lui, s'imagina que ce M. D*** devoit être un homme aſſez bizarre, puiſque ſon nom ſeul faiſoit rire ceux qui l'entendoient. N'eſt-ce pas un homme un peu ſingulier? ajouta-t-il tout de ſuite. Oui, repris-je, un original. Je m'en étois bien douté, continua-t-il; j'ai entendu parler de lui: et là-deſſus il ſe mit à faire mon portrait, auquel je fis mine d'acquieſcer; et voyant que le ſujet réjouiſſoit la compagnie, il ſe mit à inventer, dans la fertilité de ſon eſprit, pluſieurs contes à ſa façon, qu'il fit durer, au grand plaiſir de tous, jusqu'à ce que l'heure vint de ſe ſéparer. Je ſortis le premier; et à peine fus-je hors de la maiſon, qu'on lui dit qui j'étois: on lui donna à entendre que, par reſpect pour Milord Taviſtock, je m'etois contenu; mais que je n'étois pas traitable, et qu'il pouvoit s'attendre à me voir, le lendemain, lui demander raiſon des méchans propos qu'on lui perſuada qu'il avoit tenus de moi. Il crut, en effet, qu'il avoit pouſsé la raillerie trop loin; car il étoit un peu gai: il vint le jour ſuivant me trouver, et me demander pardon de ce qu'il pouvoit avoir dit qui m'eût déplu, s'excuſant ſur la circonſtance, et ſur la démangeaiſon qu'il avoit eue d'amuſer un peu la compagnie, qu'il y avoit vue ſi bien diſpoſée, dès qu'il avoit prononcé mon nom; mais je l'arrêtai tout court, en l'aſſurant que je m'étois amuſé de ſon erreur autant qu'un autre; qu'il n'avoit rien dit qui pût m'offenſer; et que, s'il connoiſſoit l'homme dont il avoit parlé, auſſi bien que je le faiſois, il en auroit pu dire beaucoup plus de mal. Il fut enchanté de ma réponſe, m'embraſſa, me demanda mon amitié, et me quitta fort ſatisfait de moi.' (I. 165–7.)

He ſeems to have known pretty accurately what went on at the negotiations for the peace of Paris, and gives rather a curious account of the mode in which they were conducted. The Bailli de Solar was Sardinian miniſter at Paris, and enjoyed the Duc de

Choiſeul's confidence. The Count de Viry was Sardinian miniſter at London; and both theſe functionaries were charged by their maſter to lend every aſſiſtance to the treaty in contemplation. Accordingly, Lord Bute received always his orders from the King (by which, we preſume Mr Dutens means the Cabinet), and then communicated them to his brother Mr Mackenzie, who gave them to Viry, and he tranſmitted them to the Bailli de Solar at Paris, who diſcuſſed the matter, according to their tenor, with Choiſeul. Choiſeul and Lord Bute correſponded alſo directly; and, as ſoon as any article was agreed on, it was paſſed officially through Lord Egremont's department. When the preliminaries were finally ſettled, they were ſigned, as is well known, by the Duke of Bedford at Paris, and the Duc de Nivernois at London.

After remaining ſome time at London, obtaining a good penſion, and augmenting the liſt of noblemen to whoſe exiſtence he was more than half neceſſary, our author returned to Turin, and again reſumed the functions of *chargé d'affaires*. He employed his leiſure in writing ſeveral of the works known by his name, and in publiſhing his edition of Leibnitz. In compiling this edition, he had occaſion to write a preface upon certain points in mathematical ſcience, which he confeſſes he underſtands nothing about. It was ſo much approved of, that he argues from thence in favour of authors confining themſelves to ſubjects of which they are ignorant; a theory which may guide us, perhaps, in divining the reaſons for Mr Dutens's choice of topics in ſome of his ſubſequent ſpeculations. After a ſtay of ſeveral months at Turin, he once more left it; and does not by any means conceal his diſappointment at the King of Sardinia allowing him to depart without making him a preſent of a ſnuff-box, on which he had entirely made up his mind.

About the time of our author's return to England, his acquaintance with the Northumberland family commenced. It ſeems to have been his only failure; at leaſt he got nothing by it; and accordingly, the noble perſons of that houſe are abſolutely the only characters of any diſtinction, towards whom, during the whole of his book, he allows himſelf the ſmalleſt freedom of criticiſm. Againſt them, however, he did not fail to play off aſſiduouſly the whole artillery of his talents in ſociety; and to recommend himſelf to their good graces, ſeems to have been the primary object of his life, from the moment he was admitted into Northumberland houſe, up to the unfortunate period of the Duke's going into oppoſition. The following ſketch of his *debût* in that family may illuſtrate ſome of our remarks upon Mr Dutens's habits and manners, and prepare our readers for the opinion which we ſhall find it neceſſary to ſtate

ſtate reſpecting him before concluding the preſent article. After mentioning the members of the noble family in queſtion, and ſhortly deſcribing them, he adds—

' Voilà quelles étoient les deux perſonnes auxquelles je conſacrai tout mon temps et mes ſoins, avec ſe zele que peut donner ſeul l'enthouſiaſme. J'étois ébloui de la magnificence du Duc; comme enchanté par les politeſſes et les attentions dont il m'honoroit, et ſurtout flatté de la diſtinction que faiſoit de moi la Ducheſſe. Ayant alors plus de ſoupleſſe dans l'eſprit que je n'ai à préſent, je la mettois toute en uſage pour les intéreſſer en ma faveur. Le Duc aimoit les arts et les ſciences; j'entrois dans tous ses goûts, je cauſois avec lui ſur tous les ſujets; et il trouvoit qu'il pouvoit varier davantage la converſation avec moi, qu'avec tout autre. La Ducheſſe ſe plaiſoit, au contraire, à des petits jeux d'eſprit dans un cercle d'amis, et s'amuſoit à recueillir des eſtampes, des médailles, et à faire d'autres collections en différens genres: j'avois l'air de n'avoir jamais fait autre choſe; et le ſoir j'aſſiſtois à ſes jeux de ſociété, et me rendois utile à ſes plaiſirs: cette ſuite d'attentions ne fu interrompue que par une petite expédition que je fis à Paris.' (I. 227-8.)

The cataſtrophe of the Duke going into oppoſition, which ſeems all at once to have changed our author's opinion of him, is mentioned in the following moving terms: ' Le Duc s'étoit jetté depuis peu dans le parti de l'oppoſition, et preciſement dans le même tems le benefice de vingt mille livres de rente qui le Roi m'avoit promis étoit venu à vaquer,' &c. Although the new light which this conduct of the Duke gave our author reſpecting his character, could not fail to alter his whole ſyſtem of tactics regarding Northumberland-Houſe, yet he did not fail, from time to time, when he had no other great man to beſet, and was, as it were, out of place, to frequent that haunt of his younger days. He ſeems always, on ſuch occaſions, to have had his hopes renewed, although he ſoon diſcovered that the Duke did nothing for his dependants; and, at length, no longer able to bear his fate in making nothing out of him, he retired in diſguſt to the country, deſpiſing the world, hating the great who had ſo grievouſly neglected him, and abjuring, for the reſt of his life, all attendance upon rich men and lords. Nay, ſo ſeriouſly did he ſet about this radical reform in his ſyſtem, that he took with him Regnier's ' *Satyre ſur les Grands*,' ' afin d'avoir toujours avec moi cet excellent preſervatif contre les attraits de leur commerce.'

Thus equipped for philoſophy, and reſolved to live for himſelf, did Mr Dutens, at the ripe age of fifty years, quit, for the firſt time, the habits of a dangler in large houſes, and plunge into the attractive pleaſure of ſolitude and literature, a country parſonage, and a limited tenth part of that produce which he had been accuſtomed to enjoy entirely. But the change was of tranſient duration. Either Regnier's Satyre had loſt its virtue, or the country

had ceaſed to charm, or our author's mind ſoared above his lot; for the next chapter begins with this title, ' *Inconſtance et foibleſſe de l'auteur—Il s'embarque de nouveau ſur la mer orageuſe du grand monde ;* ' and the chapter proceeds to tell, how, almoſt as ſoon as he had begun his new plan of life, he read in a newſpaper Lord Mountſtuart's appointment as reſident at Turin, and inſtantly ſet all his engines of intrigue in motion to get himſelf adopted as his private ſecretary. This attempt was ſucceſsful, and he ſet out with the family, as uſual, in the capacity of what is vulgarly termed a *fac-totum* and ſometimes gets a worſe appellation, but is more politely and picturesquely deſcribed in the following ſentences:

' Milady étoit enceinte de ſix mois. C'étoit parla que je valois quelque choſe. Je me chargeai de tout ; je la priai de ſe repoſer ſur moi du ſucces de ſon voyage, et j'acquis ſi bien ſa confiance, par mes ſoins et mon zele pour elle, qu'il n'y avoit plus moyen de ſe paſſer de moi. On n'entreprenoit rien, on ne faiſoit rien, que je n'euſſe été conſulté, et que je n'euſſe donné mon approbation ; j'étois le chef de l'expedition, l'oracle de la partie, un homme unique ; on me devoit tout ce bien-être dont on jouiſſoit.'—' Quel bonheur,' he very naturally adds, or makes them exclaim, we know not which, ' quel bonheur d'avoir un tel ami ! Qu'auroit-on fait ſans moi ?' II. 150.

This viſit to the Continent preſents the ſame incidents with the former ones. Mr Dutens is the life of Turin, and of every other place where Providence beſtows him, the ſoul of the buſineſs in which he is required to take a part, and, indeed, to ſay the truth, of all the other buſineſs that goes on near him ; for in all he takes his ſhare. Lord and Lady Mountſtuart tire of him ; he intrigues a reconciliation ; travels about ſometimes with them, ſometimes alone, in which caſe he carries along with him a travelling library of ſelect volumes in *nine* different languages, and is received every where, particularly by princes, and moſt of all by the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, afterwards Leopold II., with a diſtinguiſhed attention, ' which would have tempted him to form a high opinion of his own merit.' ' Si je n'avois pas été autant en garde que je l'étois, contre l'amour propre et la vanité.' This accounts eaſily and expeditiouſly for what the reader would otherwiſe have been ſurpriſed at, the remarkable modeſty of Mr Dutens's ſtyle. Another quality which he confeſſes to, is *mauvaiſe-honte*. ' J'ai toujours eu une mauvaiſe-honte, qui dans pluſieurs occaſions m'a jeté dans l'embarras.' One ſtraightway wonders how ſuch a quality as this could have permitted our author to purſue the profeſſion to which his life has ſo ſucceſsfully been devoted ; but he proceeds to explain it as follows : ' Je n'ai jamais pu refuſer tout net une offre avantageuſe, ou flatteuſe en apparence, quelque éloignée qu'elle pût être de me convenir ;' from which

which the young ſtudent of French may gather, that *mauvaiſe-honte* ſignifies, according to the beſt authors, '*greedineſs.*'

The various excurſions to the Continent, related in the courſe of Mr Dutens's ſecond volume, produce very few anecdotes of ſufficient intereſt to relieve the general dullneſs of the narrative, and offer but little information which is worth the trouble of extracting or abridging. He deſcribes, with ſome livelineſs, the manner of entertainment at a great French chateau, in his account of his reſidence with the family of Choiſeul. No ſtyle of living, indeed, can be figured more perfectly refined, more abundant in all the elegance and delicacy of the moſt poliſhed times, or more calculate to ſecure the enjoyment of the higheſt of all pleaſures, the delights of perfectly good ſociety. We regret that the paſſage is too long for an extract; and it obviouſly does not admit of an abridgement. His accounts of various French characters of eminence are marked by no prominent quality, except ignorance of general ſubjects, frequently coupled with intolerable prejudice and bigotry. Turgot is accuſed of the narroweſt and moſt contemptible jealouſy in little things; and he is denounced as a friend of anarchy, becauſe a 'friend to the economiſts, and other falſe philoſophers.' This idea of the Economiſts is indeed rather amuſing. They were, it ſeems, a ſubdiviſion of the Encyclopediſts, whom the Duke de Choiſeul humorouſly uſed to call '*Les Capucins de l'Encyclopedie*;' and 'to be admitted into their number, it was only neceſſary for a multitude of middling writers to adorn their works with ſome common-place againſt the moſt ſacred and reſpectable of ſubjects.' The author of a work on the comparative progreſs of different ages in all the various branches of human ſcience, might have naturally been expected to know a little more of the hiſtory of the moſt recent ſect of philoſophers which has acquired any celebrity. His chief violence, however, is reſerved for M. Condorcet, becauſe he had attacked an obſcure work of M. Dutens. His character is therefore traduced without moderation or meaſure. He is talked of as an ignorant, deſpicable perſon, and treated, through ſeveral clumſy pages of bad raillery, with an inſufferable tone of contempt. 'Il étoit,' ſays our author, 'le dénigreur de mon ouvrage.' Of d'Alembert a better account is given; and we cheerfully extract the following paſſage, which conveys a very amiable trait in the character of that illuſtrious man.

'M. d'Alembert étoit fils naturel de Madame de Tencin, ſœur du Cardinal de ce nom, et de M. Deſtouches. Il fut expoſé à ſa naiſſance, et recueilli par la femme d'un vitrier, qui en prit ſoin comme de ſon propre fils. Cependant M. Deſtouches, qui ne l'avoit pas perdu de vue, pourvut à ſon éducation, et fit parvenir ſecretement les moyens

néceſſaires pour y ſubvenir. Quand il devint célèbre par ſon eſprit et ſon ſavoir, il fut introduit dans le monde par Madame la Marquiſe du Deffant. Madame de Tencin, qui aimoit les beaux eſprits, eût bien voulu le reconnoître; mais il ſe refuſa à ſon déſir, en diſant qu'il ne reconnoiſſoit point d'autre mère que celle qui avoit pris ſoin de ſon enfance. En effet, il regarda toujours la pauvre vitrière comme ſa mère, et continua d'avoir pour elle les plus grandes attentions juſqu'à ſa mort. Il connut Mademoiſelle de l'Eſpinaſſe chez Madame du Deffant, qui l'avoit fait venir de province pour lui tenir compagnie: elle étoit fille naturelle du Marquis du Deffant, et elle avoit une humeur et un eſprit ſi agréables qu'elle faiſoit les délices de la ſociété de cette dame. Mais s'étant brouillée avec elle, M. d'Alembert épouſa ſa querelle; et tous deux ayant pris un appartement dans la même maiſon, ils y établirent une aſſemblée de beaux eſprits, qui enleva à Madame du Deffant une grande partie de ceux qui frequentoient ſa maiſon.' II. p. 59. 60.

In the whole courſe of his Memoirs, we have already hinted, Mr Dutens never can be brought to talk ſlightingly or diſreſpectfully of any perſon of wealth or rank. An admiration, approaching to devotion, binds him, on all occaſions of this deſcription. Peter III. of Ruſſia, he ſeems to think, on the authority of Princeſs D'Aſhkoff, died a natural death. All kings are immaculate; all courtiers pure and able, provided they do not quarrel with the miniſtry of the day; and all perſons, of whatever rank, having large houſes, full of good cheer, and open to paraſites, are ſecure of the immortality which our author diſpenſes, and obtain a ſhare of the ſame gift for their friends and gueſts. We have ſeldom met, in romance, with ſuch an aſſemblage of all-accompliſhed perſons, as the knot whom he deſcribes as frequenting Mr Mackenzie's houſe. One of theſe perfect characters, however, Count Woronzow, has been rather ſhy of accepting the eulogiums poured upon him; in truth, immediately upon reading in Mr Dutens that he had gained a battle or two by his perſonal proweſs and ſkill, and further, that his ſon, when a boy, was called by General Tzirzianoff, his right hand, he publiſhed a letter in all the newſpapers, affirming that there was not the ſlighteſt foundation for either of thoſe ſtories. Should all the noble and wealthy characters, who are praiſed without reſerve in theſe volumes, adopt the ſame method of vindicating the truth, we fear the publication of the work would rather lead to troubleſome conſequences. Before concluding this topic, we may add, that nothing, even in this book, comes up to the fulſomeneſs of adulation with which the lady of one of the preſent miniſtry is attacked, we can call it nothing elſe, under the form of a character drawn of her, and which was tranſmitted to herſelf. After a maſs of the moſt diſguſting flattery, of panegyric infinitely too great for the merits of any human being, he adds, as a candid admiſſion to give his

ſketch

ſketch relief, that this lady has perhaps one fault, ſhe is ſomewhat too ſevere in her hatred of vice, and her contempt for folly.

Having, in the courſe of this article, given a ſketch of Mr Dutens's own hiſtory, we ſhall now briefly cloſe it. Notwithſtanding the Duke of Northumberland forfeited his monopoly of our author, by leaving the court party, and by doing nothing great for him, and notwithſtanding his bitter feelings againſt him on theſe accounts, he was far from forſaking that noble perſon; more eſpecially as he advanced in life, and approached the period when men uſually think of leaving the world, and of ſettling their affairs, diſtributing their earthly goods, &c. our author's aſſiduities ſeem to have quickened. We lament to find that he did not reap the fruits of ſo wiſe and judicious a line of conduct. With Mr Mackenzie he was more fortunate; when that gentleman died, how great was his aſtoniſhment, to find that he had left him a third part of his perſonal property—an equal ſhare with his two nephews! At this he rejoiced, becauſe 'it was an honourable ſanction to his character and conduct, to be remembered in the will of ſo reſpectable a perſon as Mr Mackenzie;' which is a very new reaſon for being pleaſed at receiving a large legacy.

Upon the whole, our opinion of this work and of its author, is nearly the ſame. Neither the merits of the one, nor the life of the other, claim any conſiderable portion of our reſpect. Of the various capacities in which he has appeared,—as an author of forgotten books—an attendant upon the rich and great—a leader of their children round the tour of Europe—a clergyman—a *chargé d'affaires*—the hiſtorian of his own life and times—and a meaſurer of the poſt-roads on the Continent,—we chiefly value him in his laſt function. It may be thought going out of our bounds, thus to criticiſe the life and character of an author, when his works only are before us: but let it be remembered, that the nature of his preſent publication brings his perſonal merits directly under our review. We muſt therefore be excuſed for expreſſing our free opinion, that the main occupation of his life has been one which frequently brings learning and wit into contempt, by ſubjecting thoſe pure and ineſtimable gifts to the caprices of rank, and the vulgar inſolence of wealth; and that Mr Dutens can only now claim our reſpect in his quality of a worn-out *odometer*, which may have been ſerviceable in its day.

ART. IX. *A Letter to William Wilberforce Esq. M. P. on the Justice and Expediency of Slavery and the Slave Trade, and on the best Means to improve the Manners and Condition of the Negroes in the West Indies.* By Robert Heron Esq. London. Maxwell & Jordan. 1806.

POLITICAL controversy has sometimes been compared to prize-fighting; but the defeated literary champion of a desperate cause, has one great advantage over the beaten pugilist. When a champion is unable to sustain the honours of his fist against a new rival, there is no choice but to *give in*, or to have his ribs beat in by his antagonist. But, in the conflicts of the pen, no such dire alternative awaits the vanquished combatant. If he possess only enough of that *bottom*, which is said to abound on the banks of the Shannon, he can never be compelled to surrender. Though knocked down a hundred times, and unable to *stand up to his man* a moment without *shifting*, he may make at least a drawn battle; for he may protract the contest till his antagonist is weary, till the spectators and judges are tired out, and even the bottle-holders quit the ring in disgust.

We can imagine no other motive for the temerity of the slave traders in venturing upon another round, where the odds are so fearfully against them. If the most complete falsification of all their premises of fact; if the strongest impeachment of the principles on which they rely; if the clearest refutation of the shocking inferences for which, upon those bad principles and false premises, they contend; or if the frequent repetition of all these falling blows, could have silenced the apologists of the slave-trade, there would long since have been an end of this controversy.

But there are no limits to the power of restating the same arguments which have been refuted, and repeating the same falsehoods which have been disproved; and to do this without at all noticing the decisive answers which have been given, or the conclusive evidence which has been adduced against them, is the constant policy of these writers.

We lament to say, that it is an artifice by no means useless to that bad cause, on behalf of which it is employed. A pamphlet is pushed out, opportunely, when any new application to Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade is approaching, and is circulated by other means than its own proper attractions, or the assiduity of the publisher, in those channels where its influence may chance to be useful. Unfortunately, this great and most interesting subject, though so familiar to the public ear by name, is still known only by name, to a considerable portion of the community,

munity, and even to men of great political influence, as ſome ſtriking and honourably candid confeſſions lately made in Parliament may evince; and when ſuch men begin to inquire what the grounds of this famous controverſy are, they naturally look for information on that ſide, in ſupport of which ordinary notions and feelings can furniſh no arguments *a priori*, to account for its having been ſo long and ſucceſsfully defended. A new pamphlet, therefore, in defence of the ſlave trade, may find many readers, who neither know, nor are likely to take pains to inquire, what has formerly been written or proved on the other ſide; and, with ſuch perſons, a tenth edition of old falſehoods, with a new title, will paſs as well as new inventions, ſuppoſing that their predeceſſors in this honourable ſervice had left any thing for their preſent followers to invent. To offer proofs of the facts aſſerted, or even to mention that they have been controverted, might put the reader on his guard. Theſe writers therefore carefully avoid that hazard, and either tacitly or expreſsly aſſume, that they reaſon from premiſes which their opponents do not diſpute; a proceeding, the very effrontery of which, in a cauſe which has been publicly agitated during eighteen years, prevents the ſuſpicion of an ordinary reader, and therefore often obtains for theſe impoſtures a ready and implicit belief.

Theſe remarks may convey a ſalutary caution to ſuch of our readers as are not well acquainted with the Parliamentary evidence and arguments on the great ſubject which Mr Heron has undertaken to diſcuſs. We do not mean, however, to inſinuate that the writings of this gentleman are likely to have any ſuch effect. Our caution rather points at his fellow-labourers in general; and we heartily wiſh, that, in the uſe of the ſame fictitious premiſes, they had all reaſoned from them as innocently as the author before us.

The well choſen vehicle of Mr Heron's effuſions, is a violent impeachment of that vile man Mr Wilberforce, who is interrogated and objurgated in every page, and accuſed of *diabolical* perſeverance in his attempts to aboliſh thoſe harmleſs '*modes of emigration, and of ſubordination*,' the ſlave trade and Weſt India ſlavery. This, we are told, is '*a conſtancy worthy even of the ſecond hero of Milton's Epos.*'

The moral taſte of the public has perhaps already been ſufficiently nauſeated with the falſe pathos of writers, who would preſs the heart into a ſervice hoſtile to morality; but the moſt licentious German dramatiſts, and the moſt tawdry noveliſts of the French or Engliſh ſchool, may be pardoned for their diſguſting affectation, when advocates for the African ſlave trade begin to uſe the pathetic. Mr Heron, however, is a moſt impaſſioned admirer

admirer of this amiable commerce. He is '*irreſiſtibly moved*' to arraign the conduct of Mr Wilberforce; and being unable adequately to expreſs his humane and righteous emotions in his own glowing proſe, he borrows the language of a poet, and exclaims,

'*Fear, pity, juſtice, indignation, ſtart;*
Tear off reſerve, and bare my ſwelling heart.'

The circumſtances which induce us to take any notice of this unhappy tract, are twofold. In the firſt place, we wiſh to remark how ſtrange it is that the Weſt India body ſhould employ ſuch advocates, and 'enrich by their communications,' as we find they have done, ſuch a work as the preſent. It is very agreeable, indeed, to reflect that no better author can now be ſeduced to plead their cauſe. But can they poſſibly think that any point is to be gained by ſuch an advocate as Mr Heron? We ſhall not pretend to give any account of his arguments, or any ſpecimens of a ſtyle altogether unique for bombaſt, and approaching nearer to the manner of *Lieutenant* Piſtol, than of any living author. But we muſt be permittd to aſk, whether the ſlave trade is now meant to be ſupported on ſome of the novel grounds here traced out by this confidant of the merchants and planters? He actually maintains, that it is defenſible on the ſoundeſt principles of political economy. For, he obſerves, do not emigrations continually go on, ſhiftings of population, paſſages of men from one diſtrict to another? Do not the cities conſtantly draw ſupplies of inhabitants from the country, and the richer from the poorer diſtricts? Nay, is not the ſame thing obſervable of the *lower animals*, who are always brought from the poor to the wealthy country, and from the country to the town? He then triumphantly upbraids Mr Wilberforce for his ignorance of theſe points of political economy; and dares him, now that he is enlightened upon this ſubject, to whiſper a ſuſpicion of the ſlave trade being either contrary to the order of nature, or to the dictates of ſound political wiſdom. We cite this argument as a real curioſity, confident that it ſtands unmatched in the whole hiſtory of controverſies.

But we have another and a more admiſſible reaſon for taking notice of this performance. It gives us an opportunity of congratulating our readers on the great progreſs which the cauſe of abolition has made during the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, by the unſhaken ſteadineſs of its original ſupporters, and the powerful aſſiſtance of Government. We ſhall briefly mention the moſt important particulars in the late proceedings upon this queſtion, conſiſtently with our plan of continuing from time to time the hiſtory of this momentous affair.

Soon

Soon after the formation of the preſent miniſtry, the Attorney-general with the entire concurrence of the Cabinet, and in his official capacity, brought in an important bill, which paſſed both Houſes of Parliament without any very formidable oppoſition, and afterwards received the Royal aſſent. This bill, which is now a public law, prohibits the exportation of ſlaves from the Britiſh colonies after the firſt of January next, and prohibits all ſubjects of this country, reſiding either here or in our foreign ſettlements, from being in any way concerned in, or acceſſary to, the ſupply of foreign countries with ſlaves, after the firſt of January. This prohibition, intended to prevent the inveſtment of Britiſh capital, or the employment of Britiſh veſſels and ſeamen in the foreign ſlave trade, and thereby to cut off a large portion of that commerce, is carried into effect by various ſalutary regulations and well-contrived penalties. The ſhip and cargo of any Britiſh trader engaged in the prohibited trade, either from our colonies or from Africa, or from other places to foreign ſettlements, are to be forfeited, and a further penalty levied of 50l. Sterling for each ſlave. A ſimilar forfeiture is to take place of any veſſel employed in ſupplying foreign ſhips with ſlaves on the coaſt of Africa, and a penalty of 100l. Sterling is to be levied from any Britiſh ſubject engaged in furniſhing, or indirectly forwarding, ſuch a ſupply. A clauſe is alſo inſerted, to which we refer our readers, as exceedingly ſatisfactory and well meant, ſect. VI., for the purpoſe of preventing Britiſh credit or capital from being embarked in the foreign ſlave trade. Every method by which Britiſh ſubjects, or perſons reſident in our dominions, may be conceived to aid the ſlave trade, is anxiouſly enumerated. Inveſtment of ſtock,—loan of money,—loan of veſſels,—becoming collateral ſecurity to ſuch loans, &c. are all declared unlawful, and liable to a forfeiture of double the ſums advanced; and all bonds or other ſecurities given for ſuch unlawful loans are declared to be null and void, except in the hands of *bona fide* purchaſers. Moreover, all inſurances on ſuch prohibited tranſactions are declared void, and further ſubjected to a penalty of five hundred pounds Sterling. It is likewiſe declared to be unlawful to aſſiſt in the outfitting of any foreign veſſels ſailing for Africa, and ſevere penalties are attached to this offence. All Britiſh veſſels clearing out for the ſlave trade, are required to give bond not to engage directly or indirectly in the foreign ſlave trade. The ſame requiſition muſt be complied with in the caſe of ſlaves exported from one Britiſh ſettlement to another; and all veſſels arriving in our colonies are to make declaration at the neareſt cuſtomhouſe, accompanied with evidence from log-books, ſurgeon's teſtimony and journal, and teſtimony of the other

other offices, that no ſlaves have been landed contrary to the intent of the act. Such are the multiplied regulations by which this wiſe and virtuous law prevents effectually any Britiſh ſubject from being acceſſary to the foreign ſlave trade. But it goes a ſtep farther, and lends its aſſiſtance to the order in council, which was paſſed laſt ſeſſion, for preventing the importation of ſlaves into the colonies conquered by our armies during the preſent war. That order could, of courſe, only begin to operate upon the veſſels when they came to the conquered ſettlement. The power of the Crown extended no farther. But this act extends its whole proviſions, in the caſe of the foreign ſlave trade, to the prevention of the trade for the ſupply of the conquered colonies, in every ſtage of its progreſs; ſo that the intention of that ſalutary order is now completely fulfilled, and an effectual ſtop put, with the few trivial exceptions noticed on a former occaſion (No. XIII.), to the whole importation of negroes into the extenſive ſettlements of Dutch Guiana, St Lucia, Tobago, &c.

Nor has the enlightened zeal of miniſters ſtopt here, though, had they done no more for the abolition, they would have proved themſelves its firm friends. They ſoon after brought forward another bill, which has now, with ſcarcely any reſiſtance, nearly gone through the Parliament, for the purpoſe of preventing the increaſe of the Britiſh ſlave trade in all its branches. As this wiſe meaſure is not yet completely paſſed into a law, and may of conſequence receive further modification in its details, we ſhall only ſtate that its general object is meant to be attained, by prohibiting any veſſel, under ſevere penalties, from being engaged in the African trade, unleſs it can prove, before certain public functionaries, that it was formerly employed in the ſame traffic. We may here remark, that ſome additional regulations will be neceſſary, in order to render this well intended meaſure effectual to the propoſed end of preventing a further increaſe of the Britiſh ſlave trade. For the bill, prohibiting Britiſh ſhips from being employed in the foreign ſlave trade, will, it is to be hoped, throw out of employment many ſuch veſſels; and they will naturally ſeek for employment in our own ſlave trade, and thus increaſe it, in ſpite of the new bill. This we merely throw out as a hint to thoſe engaged in the framing of this meaſure; and truſt that, next ſeſſion, a new bill will be taken into conſideration to remedy this defect in the principle of the preſent enactment.

The next meaſure which the miniſtry brought forward, with the view of effecting the abolition of the ſlave trade, was a reſolution againſt that traffic, couched in very decided language. This reſolution was moved by Mr Fox in the Houſe of Com-

mons; and, after an animated diſcuſſion, the Houſe declared, by a very large majority, that the African ſlave trade is contrary to juſtice, humanity, and ſound policy, and pledged itſelf to take effectual meaſures for its abolition, with all practicable expedition. This reſolution was then ſent up to the Lords, and a conference demanded, 'upon a matter, in which the reputation of the country, for juſtice, humanity, and ſound policy, is deeply intereſted.' Accordingly, after this conference, the Lords joined in the ſame reſolution, on the motion of Lord Grenville, by a large majority of votes.

The laſt ſtep taken in this great work, was an addreſs from the Houſes of Parliament to the King, 'beſeeching him to take ſuch meaſures, as may appear moſt effectual for obtaining, by negotiation, the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the ſlave trade, and the execution of the regulations adopted for that purpoſe.'

During the whole of the debates on the general queſtion, to which theſe different motions gave riſe, the ſubject was diſcuſſed with uncommon temper; and the warm ſupport of Government, as well as the apparent improvement in the feeling of the Upper Houſe, gave univerſal ſatisfaction to all the friends of the cauſe. Some ſingular arguments were indeed uſed in its favour, by eminent perſons not formerly propitious to the abolition—arguments by which we hope no one will ever be influenced to vote for any innovation in our commercial economy. It was ſaid, that the foreign ſlave trade, carried on by our merchants, ſhould be ſtopt, not becauſe it is juſt, humane, and politic to diminiſh, by every poſſible means, that abominable traffic, but becauſe it was ſaid to be an 'undoubted principle in political economy,' to prevent foreign nations from cultivating, and your own traders from ſupplying them with 'your ſtaple articles.' So the ſlave trade is a favourite with ſome perſons for its own ſake. It is to be cheriſhed like the woollen trade. It is to be made an object of national prejudice and legiſlative protection. Then it is to be protected by reſtrictive laws preventing its extenſion, as you would protect the growth of corn by prohibiting its exportation. Such were the grievous blunders of thoſe diſtinguiſhed perſons, upon what they termed, with the familiarity of old acquaintance, 'the known principles of political ſcience;' and ſo curiouſly did they contrive to defend the reſtriction of the ſlave trade, upon the only ground on which it is abſolutely indefenſible; for if you call that traffic a *ſtaple*, and a good in itſelf, ſurely every principle of political ſcience is at war with all attempts at ſtunting its growth from jealouſy of rivals. But it ſeems to be the fate of the beſt meaſures, never to attract the eſteem of ſome men, unleſs they can be ſupported upon bad principles;

principles; and you go far to bring them over to your ſide, if you permit them to fight for you with unlawful weapons.

While we freely cenſure ſuch narrow views as thoſe juſt now alluded to, it is a matter of real ſatisfaction to us to ſee the oppoſite arguments of the abolitioniſts ſo cordially ſupported by the whole of his Majeſty's miniſters. The whole of their conduct in this momentous buſineſs has been pure, ſteady, and zealous. They have propoſed the wiſeſt plans for attaining the moſt virtuous and ſalutary object which a great nation ever ſtruggled to accompliſh; and they have defended their ſchemes by the moſt fair and liberal arguments, combining, in all their diſcuſſions, a thorough knowledge of the queſtion before them, with an extenſive appeal to the beſt principles of political ſcience, and a ſenſibility to the great doctrines of public juſtice. They have reaped the reward of their enlightened exertions. While the general reſolutions which they have carried give a ſolemn pledge to the world of a total abolition of the traffic next ſeſſion of Parliament, the legiſlative meaſures already adopted have checked the growth of the evil at home, and greatly diminiſhed its magnitude abroad. The 38,000 ſlaves exported annually from Africa in Britiſh veſſels, are only in a ſmall proportion deſtined for the uſe of our own colonies—above 22,000 are ſtated, by the friends of the trade, to be intended for the foreign ſettlements. To this muſt be added a large number of ſlaves carried by Britiſh veſſels under cover of the neutral flags. From certain documents which we have had an opportunity of conſulting, we cannot eſtimate theſe at leſs than 8000; and the ſupply of the conquered colonies conſiderably exceeds 10,000 annually; ſo that, in the courſe of one ſeſſion of Parliament, a ſlave trade *has been aboliſhed*, which uſed to carry over yearly above forty thouſand innocent and miſerable perſons, from their peaceful homes, through the multiplied horrors of the voyage, to perpetual bondage and wretchedneſs in the Weſt Indian plantations; and a ſtop has been put to all the murders, torture and plunder, which were daily and hourly deſolating the continent of Africa, for the ſupply of ſo enormous a conſumption of human fleſh.

For ſo great a bleſſing, humanity itſelf—the name of man all over the world, reſcued from ſuch a ſtain,—is deeply indebted to the exertions of the Britiſh Parliament. Nor let us, the while, forget our obligations to thoſe private individuals who firſt brought the evil to light, and ceaſed not, until they had purſued it to judgment. Moſt of all, let our gratitude be teſtified to that man, who has begun and led this glorious ſtruggle—who has devoted to its ſucceſs all his days, and all his talents—who has retired from all recompenſe for his labours, ſave the ſatisfaction of doing good to his fellow-creatures, who, giving

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up to mankind what others have ſacrificed to party, has preferred the glory of living in the recollection of a grateful world, to the ſhining rewards of a limited ambition. Had he failed as entirely as he is now likely to ſucceed in the great object of his exertions, his name would have equally merited a place among the benefactors of our ſpecies. But men will always judge by the event; and we now rejoice to contemplate this diſtinguiſhed perſon, ſtanding, as it were, on the brink of his final triumph, in the greateſt battle ever fought by human beings, and an object, we really think, of juſt envy to the moſt ambitious of mortals.

ART. X. *Eſſays on the Anatomy of Expreſſion in Painting.* By Charles Bell. 4to. pp. 186. Longman & Co. London. 1806.

THIS we think is a very elegant and intereſting publication; and though the want of engravings will prevent us from giving our readers a complete conception of its contents, we think they will be gratified by a pretty full account of its leading doctrines.

Ever ſince we recollect any thing, we have been moved by the lamentations of young artiſts, complaining of the want of ſome book, which might teach them the elements and the uſes of anatomy. The difficulty was to find a ſkilful anatomiſt, who underſtood and ſympathized with their wants and diſtreſſes, and who could not only detect the errors into which they were led by their ignorance, but could accommodate his inſtructions to their taſte and capacity, and render his leſſons at once intelligible and attractive. Hitherto they have not been favoured, at leaſt in this country, with ſuch an inſtructor; and the poor painter has been obliged, either to perſuade himſelf that there was no uſe in anatomy, or to make a deſperate attempt to acquire a knowledge of it from catalogues of hideous names, and dry tabular plans of bones and blood-veſſels; relieved, occaſionally, with ſurgical and noſological obſervations, and remarks upon every thing but the application of this learning to his profeſſion. *

* We do not think that the accuracy of this general ſtatement will be much affected, by referring to any of the publications which have hitherto been given to the world under ſimilar titles with the work now before us. The famous work of Le Brun has been abandoned as worſe than

Mr Bell has not propoſed, in the work before us, to remedy the whole of theſe evils: what he has now executed is but a prelude, we hope, to a more extenſive and ſyſtematic production, in which, on the one hand, the operation of the mind on the body, will be fully and minutely inveſtigated, and on the other, the whole anatomical knowledge which is requiſite for the artiſt, will be delivered in a ſtyle as perſpicuous and engaging as that of the ſpecimens which are here offered to the public. In the preſent volume of Eſſays, it ſeems rather to have been the author's deſign to point out the infinite importance of anatomical ſtudy to the painter, and to ſhew to what a variety of pleaſing and important diſcoveries it will inſenſibly conduct him. In the execution of this taſk, he has not only given new proofs of his intimate acquaintance with his profeſſional ſcience, but has indicated a taſte and a feeling, for the excellences both of ſculpture and of painting, that is not always to be met with in a regularly bred artiſt; and entered, at the ſame time, into all the difficulties and perplexities of the ſtudent, with a zeal and a ſympathy which cannot fail to be very gratifying. He has found occaſion, too, to ſcatter over his work many traits of a delicate moral ſenſibility; and not only to embelliſh it with claſſical alluſions, but to give it dignity and authority, by appealing to the leſſons of a philoſophy, which is not often reſorted to by the votaries of ſuch ſtudies.

With all theſe merits, the work has conſiderable defects. It is not perfectly well written; there is ſomething cumbrous and overloaded in the diction; and occaſional paſſages of falſe eloquence. The arrangement is not always happy; and in treating

than uſeleſs, by every ſtudent who had been led to reſort to it. His view of the anatomy is by no means ſcientific or preciſe; and many of his ſketches of the paſſions are inaccurate in this very particular. There is a work publiſhed by Dr Briſbane, in 1769, under the name of the Anatomy of Painting; but it contains little more than the ſix tables of Albinus, with a confeſſion of the author's ignorance of the art of deſign, and a wiſh that ſome perſon, qualified for the taſk, would undertake the work he announces. His book contains no ſeparate plate of the muſcles of the face, nor any one remark on their action. A kind of abſtract of the lectures of Profeſſor Camper upon this ſubject, has been lately tranſlated from the Dutch by Dr Cogan. The greater part of this work, however, is occupied with his peculiar theory as to the direction of the facial line; there is no intelligible view of the muſcles of the face; and his repreſentations of the ſeveral paſſions are ſo coarſely and inaccurately drawn, that it is abſolutely impoſſible for the artiſt to derive the leaſt aſſiſtance from them.

ing of the more abſtract and diſputable parts of the ſubject, it appeared to us that there was a want of ſimplicity and perſpicuity in the ſtatements. The author ſeems to have felt this himſelf in ſome places; and to remedy it, he has fallen into a worſe error—that of repetition, and detached recapitulation. Moſt of theſe faults, however, appear to ariſe from inexperience in writing on ſubjects of general ſpeculation; and as they are not accompanied with the ſlighteſt appearance of conceit or preſumption, they give but little offence to the reader, and will probably be eaſily corrected.

The introductory Eſſay, after ſhortly explaining the extent of the ſubject which the author propoſes to illuſtrate, treats at ſome length of the errors into which artiſts are apt to be betrayed, both by the ſtudy of the antique, and by that of the academy figure, and of the ſalutary corrective which anatomical knowledge has provided for theſe errors.

By anatomy, he obſerves, as applied to the arts of deſign, I underſtand, not merely the ſtudy of the human muſcles and organs of motion,—

'I conſider it as including a knowledge of all the peculiarities and characteriſtic differences which mark and diſtinguiſh the countenance, and the general appearance of the body, in ſituations intereſting to the painter or ſtatuary. The characters of infancy, youth, or age; the peculiarities of ſickneſs or of robuſt health; the contraſt of manly and muſcular ſtrength, with feminine delicacy; the appearances of diſeaſes, of pain, or of death; the general condition of the body, in ſhort, as marking to the eye of the beholder intereſting ſituations:—All theſe form as neceſſary a part of the anatomy of painting, as the tracing of the muſcles of expreſſion in their unexerted ſtate, and of the changes induced upon them as emotions ariſe in the mind.' p. 2.

With regard to the danger of an indiſcriminate imitation of the antique, he obſerves, that almoſt all we know of it is preſerved in *ſculpture*; and that much of that ſculpture is employed in embodying perſonifications of *deities*, and ſupernatural beings; from both which circumſtances, it may become a ſource of error to the ſtudent of painting. He obſerves, with great truth, that the ancient ſculptors appear to have conſidered a certain grave ſimplicity, and ſedate tranquillity, as neceſſary to the grandeur and effect of their finer compoſitions; an air of ſtillneſs and repoſe, accordingly, is the grand characteriſtic of ancient ſculpture; and even in the expreſſion of paſſion, they ſeem to have found it neceſſary, in order to preſerve the beauty and dignity of their works, to avoid that minute and ſharp repreſentation of the features, and thoſe convulſions and diſtortions of the muſcles that are ſtrictly natural. The painter, however, it is obvious, is bound down by no ſuch limitations.

'It is very true, that the painter may often be allowed to preſerve much of the ſame gravity of ſtyle with the ſtatuary; that ſuch compoſitions will poſſeſs a certain auguſtneſs; and that ſome ſubjects even require this; while many admit of it, provided the tone and principle of compoſition be well preſerved, and the painting characterized by a low and ſombre colouring. In general, however, this is neither neceſſary, nor perhaps natural, to the ſtyle of compoſition in painting. A ſtronger expreſſion, a cloſer imitation of natural character may be adopted; and at leaſt it may be laid down, that, where there is bold light, and vivid colouring, there ſhould be ſtrong and natural character, bold and characteriſtic drawing. A painting, with high finiſhing, and bright colouring, demands minute expreſſion, becauſe the ſame circumſtances which diſplay the natural colouring, are neceſſarily accompanied by a minute diſcloſure of the parts, and a ſharpneſs of natural expreſſion in the features.' p. 6. 7.

From theſe conſiderations, it is apparent, that the imitation of the antique is apt to ſeduce the ſtudent into many fundamental errors, even if he ſhould look for his models among the repreſentations of human ſubjects. But the fineſt, and moſt admired productions of antiquity, are the ſtatues of its gods; and in theſe there is another ſource of deception.

'The ancient artiſt,' as Mr Bell obſerves, 'ſtudied to beſtow the character of divinity, by giving repoſe to the limbs without any indication of muſcles or veins, and by exhibiting a face full of the mild ſerenity of a being ſuperior to the paſſions of mankind, as ſhadowing out a ſtate of exiſtence in which the will poſſeſſes the moſt perfect freedom and activity without the exertion of the bodily frame. But thoſe ideal forms are ſcarcely ever to be transferred to the repreſentation of the human body; and a modern artiſt who indiſcriminately follows ſuch a model, miſapplies the nobleſt leſſons of his art.' p. 4.

In illuſtration of this remark, we might obſerve, that the famous Le Brun, in his pictures of the battles of Alexander, firſt repreſented that conqueror with the head of Minerva, which he found upon ſome of his coins, and afterwards, when the miſtake was pointed out to him by ſome of his claſſical friends, corrected it, by ſubſtituting the head of the young Hercules, which appeared upon another ſeries of medals.

To the ſtudy of the academy figure, Mr Bell has objections nearly as deciſive. In the firſt place, he obſerves, it can give no aſſiſtance in the delineation of the countenance. In the ſecond place, it cannot afford the means of ſeizing thoſe momentary and characteriſtic exertions of muſcular power which accompany ſudden exertion, and muſt ſo often form the ſubject of the painter's imitation. In the third place, as the figure is ſcrewed up into a particular poſition, and ſupported in it by ropes, his limbs never diſplay the ſame action of muſcles which takes place in the caſe

caſe of voluntary exertion;—the muſcles, too, are intentionally protruded where the ſtudent is to copy; but the reſt of the frame is ſtill and lifeleſs. From copying ſuch figures, Mr Bell obſerves, a young artiſt 'is apt to produce an appearance like ſpaſm or cramp in the limbs, one part being in action, while the reſt is looſe and relaxed:' On other occaſions, though the proportions are exact, 'the figures ſtand in attitudes when they were meant to be in action, and communicate to the ſpectator no idea of exertion or of motion.'

The true corrective for all theſe faults, is the ſtudy of anatomy; which, by teaching the painter the courſe and workings of the muſcles, as well as the ſympathy of their action in different parts of the body, enables him, without the help of a model, to repreſent, with truth and effect, all the exertions or emotions which he may wiſh to delineate. Even in copying from a model, this knowledge is of the utmoſt importance;—it gives the painter a ſpirit of minute obſervation, and forces him to attend to thoſe ſlight but important indications which are apt to be overlooked by one who is ignorant of the cauſes from which they proceed. 'I have often,' ſays Mr Bell, 'had occaſion to obſerve the perplexity of a young artiſt in repreſenting the courſe of a ſwelling muſcle;—the little depreſſions and convexities about a joint, or the knobbed end of a bone obſcurely perceived through the ſuperficial integuments. Theſe appear to him but unmeaning varieties in the outline;—he makes ſwellings merely;—and in tranſcribing a language which he does not underſtand, is guilty of a thouſand errors and inaccuracies.' The Eſſay concludes with ſeveral illuſtrations of the ſame general poſition.

The *ſecond* Eſſay treats of the ſkull and form of the head, chiefly as indicating the different periods of life; and includes a long diſſertation upon the peculiarities of the antique or ideal head as contraſted with that which is natural.

The peculiarities of the infantine, mature, and aged head, are repreſented and accounted for in the cleareſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner, and illuſtrated by a variety of beautiful ſketches. Fiammingo, who was much celebrated for his models of children, is ſhown to be quite out of nature, in accumulating the maſs of the head towards the top, inſtead of enlarging it in breadth backwards.

With regard to the peculiar form of the antique head, Mr Bell is of opinion, that it was adopted with a view to magnify and exaggerate all thoſe features and proportions which are peculiar to the human countenance, and remove it fartheſt from any reſemblance to the lower animals. There is a good deal of ſu-

perfluous writing in this part of the work; though we are rather inclined to think that the author has made out his point. It is a fact, we believe, which admits of no difpute, that the antique is precifely the reverfe of the brutal phyfiognomy. Affuming the ordinary or natural form of the human head as a centre, it will be found that, by altering its lines and proportions in one direction, it will approach to the character of a beaft; and that, by altering them in the oppofite direction, it will affume the character of the antique. After making a variety of acute and ingenious remarks upon the theories of Winkelman, Camper, and Sir Jofhua Reynolds, Mr Bell concludes,

'I have endeavoured to place the fubject in another view, and to fhew that the noble and impofing form of the antique refulted from a deep and more extenfive furvey of nature. I conceive the artifts of antiquity to have ftudied the deformities, as well as the beauties, of the human countenance; and, obferving the prevailing lines of a low and difagreeable countenance, to have traced this effect to an affociation with a lower fpecies, and hence to have deduced their principle of ennobling the form of the head, by increafing thofe peculiarities of character, the indication of intellect, and the powers of expreffion, which diftinguifh the human form, and by carefully reverfing thofe proportions which produce a refemblance to the phyfiognomy of brutes. While we feek to difcover the fuperiority of the antique form in the direction of the lines, the elevation of the facial line, or even in the proportions of the feveral parts, without examining the caufe of our ready acquiefcence in that as beautiful, which yet is not natural, or without tracing the affociation which affects our judgment, the refult of the inquiry muft be vague and unfatisfactory, while the principle which influenced the ancients is not eftablifhed.' p. 44, 45.

Eflay *third* is employed upon the mufcles of the face in man, and in the lower animals. It contains very beautiful engravings of thefe mufcles, with concife and clear explanations, and fome excellent obfervations upon the capricious mixture of brutal and human expreffion, which fome great painters have admitted into their repreferitations of animals.

The *fourth* Eflay is more intereffing to the general reader. It treats of the expreffion of paffion as illuftrated by a comparifon of the mufcles of the face in man, and in the lower animals; and contains a great number of original remarks on the peculiarities of the brutal and the human phyfiognomy.

'The violent paffions,' Mr Bell obferves, 'mark themfelves fo diftinctly on the countenance, both of man, and of animals, that we are apt, in the firft inftance, to conlider the movements by which they are indicated, as certain figns or characters provided by nature for the expreis purpofe of intimating the internal emotion; and to fuppofe that they are interpreted by the obferver in conlequence of a peculiar and inftinctive

inſtinctive faculty. This view of things, however, ſo natural at firſt ſight, is not altogether ſatisfactory to philoſophy; and a more jealous obſervation of the facts ſeems to ſuggeſt an oppoſite theory, in which inſtinctive agency is rejected, and the appearances are explained from a conſideration of the neceſſities and voluntary exertions of the animal. With regard to the obſerver, it has been aſſerted, that it is by experience alone that he diſtinguiſhes the ſigns of the paſſions; that we learn, while infants, to conſider ſmiles as expreſſions of kindneſs, becauſe they are accompanied by acts of beneficence, and by endearments,—and frowns as the contrary, becauſe we find them followed by blows; that the expreſſion of anger in a brute is only that which has been obſerved to precede his biting, and that of fondneſs, his fawning and licking of the hand. With regard to the creature itſelf, it is ſaid, what have been called the external ſigns of paſſion, are merely the concomitants of thoſe voluntary movements, which the paſſion or habits ſuggeſt; that the glare of the lion's eye, for example, is the conſequence of a voluntary exertion to ſee his prey more clearly—his grin or ſnarl, the natural motion of uncaſing his fangs before he uſes them,' &c. p. 84, 85.

In the courſe of the ſubſequent inveſtigation, Mr Bell finds reaſon to conclude, that the whole expreſſion in the countenances of brutes is derived from thoſe actions of the muſcles which are neceſſary to the performance of their animal functions; but that there are, in the human face, a variety of peculiar muſcles, which ſerve no other purpoſe than to expreſs intellectual or ſocial emotions, and are to be conſidered, therefore, as the index or alphabet of human ſentiment.

The chief expreſſion in the lower animals is that of rage. The carnivorous animals expreſs this, by uncovering the fang teeth with which they are about to ſeize their prey, and opening the eyelid ſtrongly, by which the coats of the eye are ſtretched, and a certain brightneſs or glare excited in it. Thoſe appearances, therefore, do not originally expreſs any paſſion of the mind; they merely indicate an approaching action; they are parallel to the unſheathing of a ſword, or the cocking of a piſtol. The graminivorous animals do not ſeize their food with the ſide teeth; they crop it with the front ones. They are unprovided, therefore, with the muſcles which uncaſe the fangs of the lion or tyger; and as the act of biting the graſs indicates nothing like rage or ferocity, we have aſſociated no expreſſion of this kind with the movement by which they uncover the fore teeth. Their only indication of rage is in the poſition of their organs of attack—in the inclined head, and oblique horns of the bull, or the eye and the ear of the horſe reverted towards the heels with which he is preparing to ſtrike.

Man has both theſe ſets of muſcles; and he has a variety of others that are peculiar to himſelf, and ſeem to anſwer no purpoſe but as organs of human expreſſion. Theſe are chiefly the *corrugator ſupercilii*, or that which knits the eye-brows, and the *triangularis oris*, which, in combination with ſome other muſcles about the mouth, produces that arching of the lip which is ſo expreſſive of contempt, hatred, jealouſy, and all the unſocial paſſions.

'The expreſſion of human rage,' ſays Mr Bell, 'partakes of that of the two claſſes of animals; the correſponding muſcles of the lips and noſtril, producing a ſimilar action with that of animals; an expoſure and gnaſhing of the teeth; a degree of ſparkling of the eye, and an inflation of the noſtril. And of a face under the influence of ſuch action, a ſpectator would infallibly ſay that the aſpect is perfectly brutal, ſavage, and cruel. But when the Corrugator Supercilii, a muſcle peculiar to human expreſſion, is brought into action, the ſign is altered. The eye-brows are knit, the energy of mind is apparent, and the mingling of human thought and emotion with the ſavage and brutal rage of the mere animal.' p. 97.

Laughter he thinks peculiar to man, as well as the expreſſions of hope, admiration, deſpair, and many other emotions. In the concluſion of the Eſſay, he obſerves, that though the form of the animal head be often very beautiful in itſelf, it never fails to produce a diſguſting effect, when engrafted in any degree on the human countenance. Whenever the imagination catches an idea of brutal character, the whole dignity and beauty of the head is inſtantaneouſly deſtroyed. The chief ingredient in human beauty, he thinks, is the viſible capacity for expreſſion: of which he ſays,

'This capacity of expreſſion, this indication of a mind ſuſceptible of great, or of tender emotions, has a great ſhare in human beauty; whether in the living countenance or in that which the pencil preſents. How different the tame regularity of a merely placid countenance, from what ſtrikes the ſpectator when he beholds the indications of a great mind in that ſuſceptibility of emotion and energy, which marks the brow, and animates the eye of the hero even in the calmeſt ſcenes of life! How faſcinating when compared with the inſipid prettineſs and regular features of an inanimate beauty is that ſuſceptibility which lightens up the countenance and plays upon the features of a woman of ſenſibility, even while ſhe is unmoved by any particular affection! The full clear eye; the arched and moveable eyebrow; the ſmooth and poliſhed forehead; as indicating this kind of capacity, this ſuſceptibility of emotion, and power of expreſſion, are grand features of human character and beauty. And the perfection of their beauty is found whenever the ſpectator is made ſenſible of this inherent, this latent power of expreſſion, while no prevailing paſſion gives a caſt to the features.' p. 102.

The

The *next* Eſſay is the moſt important and intereſting of the whole book. It treats, in detail, of the viſible ſigns of grief, pain, weeping, anguiſh, death, diſcontent, ſuſpicion, rage, remorſe, jealouſy, wonder, fear, horror, and deſpair. Moſt of theſe are illuſtrated by ſtriking and original ſketches, and accompanied by preciſe and lively deſcriptions, affording the moſt convincing proofs of the author's nice and aſſiduous obſervation.

The Eſſay is prefaced by a general ſpeculation, which we do not conſider as of great value, tending to ſhew, that in all the pleaſurable emotions there is a degree of languor and relaxation, and that pain and ſuffering are accompanied by tenſion and excitement. The following paragraph is all we can afford to inſert of it.

'On the other hand, as pleaſure is characterized by languor, ſoft tranquillity, and relaxation from bodily exertion, all the emotions related to it, or deducible from pleaſurable ſenſations, are characterized by the prevailing ſtate of the ſyſtem, by a degree of inaction, and, as it were, forgetfulneſs of bodily exertion, and an indulgence in mental contemplation. The contemplation of beauty, or the admiration of ſoft muſic, produces a ſenſe of languor; the body reclines, the lips are half opened, the eyes have a ſoftened luſtre from the falling of the eyelids; the breathing is ſlow, and, from the abſolute neglect of bodily ſenſation, and the temporary interruption of reſpiration, there is a frequent low drawn ſigh.' p. 109.

In his deſcriptions of the different emotions which the painter may have to repreſent, Mr Bell, as we formerly obſerved, ſhows himſelf not only to have attended to the viſible ſigns of the paſſion with the keen eye of an artiſt, but alſo to have traced its inward workings with the ſagacity and zeal of a philoſopher.

'In ſorrow,' he ſays, 'that general languor which we have now deſcribed pervades the whole countenance. The violence and tenſion of grief, the agitations, the reſtleſsneſs, the lamentations, and the tumult, have, like all ſtrong excitements, gradually exhauſted the frame. Sadneſs and regret, with depreſſion of ſpirits and fond recollections, have ſucceeded; and laſſitude of the whole body, with dejection of face and heavineſs of the eyes, are the moſt ſtriking characteriſtics. The lips are relaxed and the lower jaw drops; the upper eyelid falls down and half covers the pupil of the eye. The eye is frequently filled with tears, and the eyebrows take an inclination ſimilar to that which the depreſſion of the angles of the lips give to the mouth.' p. 114.

After a very fine ſketch and deſcription of deſpair, rage, and bodily pain, in the caſe of a mortal wound, he obſerves—

'If a man be ſhot, there will be no ſuch ferocious expreſſion. There is here often a ſtrange and inexplicable nervous effect, a trembling and ſinking of the body, with faintneſs and oppreſſion; the face and body cold, pale, and livid. In a mortal gunſhot wound, the character of the

the hero is loſt; it yields to the univerſal law: yet the feebleneſs of the palpitating breaſt, and the bewildered eye in the death of a great man, ſtrike us, in certain circumſtances, more forcibly perhaps than if we ſaw him in all his glory.' p. 120.

The following remarks on the repreſentation of death, are ſtrong and impreſſive.

'When the eyelids, lips, and noſe are livid, death is faſt approaching: but often, before the laſt ſcene, the waſted form will riſe with an anxious, delirious look, before finally falling into the embrace of death. In death, the eyes are dull and ſunk; the features ſharp; the noſe pointed; the noſtril ſomewhat contracted; the ſurface cold and pale, and leaden coloured. The painter muſt hold in recollection the difference between a dead body which he may have ſeen on the table of the anatomiſt, and the dead in battle. It may be ſometimes neceſſary to give the rigidity of death to the figure, but more frequently either the convulſive tenſion of expiring life, or the relaxation of death; as Homer deſcribes his heroes, rolling in death, with limbs relaxed and nerveleſs. It appears to me that the painter is too apt to take his ideas of death from the ſtage. But it is ſcarcely poſſible that from ſuch a ſource he can derive the materials of a natural, ſimple, or terrific repreſentation.

We not unfrequently ſee a young creature in death, as if aſleep, with the beauty of countenance unobſcured by convulſion: the form alone remains; the animation is gone, and no colour beautifies the cheek.

" E, quaſi un ciel notturno, anco ſereno
Senza ſplendor la faccia ſcolorita."

There is often, however, a gloom upon the countenance; the eyebrow hangs low; the eye is ſunk and the orbit diſtinct; the noſe is compreſſed, and the lines of it ſharp. The compreſſion of the noſe is occaſioned by the falling in of the noſtril; the lower jaw falls, and the cheek is hollow. When the dead are dreſſed by the undertaker for burial, and the jaw bound up, there is ſtill ſomething very peculiar in the appearance of the mouth. There is no breath betwixt the lips and teeth; and the relaxed lips being forced together, there is an unnatural fulneſs round the mouth, while the lips themſelves fall in.' p. 123, 124.

The account of laughter and of weeping is excellent. After a ſpirited ſketch of rage, we have this deſcription.

'In rage, the features are unſteady, the eyeballs are ſeen largely; they roll and are inflated. The front is alternately knit and raiſed in furrows by the motion of the eyebrows; the noſtrils are inflated to the utmoſt; the lips are ſwelled, and, being drawn, open the corners of the mouth.

'The action of the muſcles is ſtrongly marked. The whole viſage is ſometimes pale, ſometimes inflated, dark, and almoſt livid; the words are delivered ſtrongly through the fixed teeth; " the hair is fixed on end

end like one diſtracted, and every joint ſhould ſeem to curſe and ban." p. 139. 140.

The author ſeems to have paid particular attention to the ſymptoms and viſible characters of Fear. We have room only for its ſimpleſt modification.

'In man, the expreſſion of mere bodily fear is, like that of animals, without dignity; it is the mean anticipation of pain. The eyeball is largely uncovered; the eyes ſtaring; the eyebrows elevated to the utmoſt ſtretch. There is a ſpaſmodic affection of the diaphragm and muſcles of the cheſt, affecting the breathing, producing a gaſping in the throat, with an inflation of the noſtril, convulſive opening of the mouth, and dropping of the jaw; the lips nearly concealing the teeth, yet allowing the tongue to be ſeen, the ſpace between the noſtril and lip being full. There is a hollowneſs and convulſive trembling in the cheek, and lips, and muſcles, on the ſide of the neck. The whole animal functions are affected, and that nerve which is called the Sympathetic ſeems the maſter ſpring. The lungs are kept diſtended, while the breathing is ſhort and rapid; and, from the connexion of the nerves of the lungs and midriff with thoſe of the ſide of the neck, and with the branches which ſupply the cutaneous muſcle of the cheek and neck, we may comprehend the cauſe of the convulſive motion of this muſcle. The aſpect is pale and cadaverous from the receding of the blood. The hair is lifted up by the creeping of the ſkin.' p. 145.

The laſt paſſion, of which we ſhall extract the deſcription, is Deſpair.

'Deſpair is a mingled emotion. While terror is in ſome meaſure the balancing and diſtraction of a mind occupied with a poſſibility of danger, deſpair is the total wreck of hope, the terrible aſſurance of ruin having cloſed around beyond all power of eſcape. The expreſſion of deſpair muſt vary with the nature of the diſtreſs of which it forms the acmè. In certain circumſtances, it will aſſume a bewildered diſtracted air, as if madneſs were likely to afford the only relief from mental agony. Sometimes there is at once a wildneſs in the looks and total relaxation, as if falling into inſenſibility; or there is upon the countenance of the deſperate man a horrid gloom; the eye is fixed, yet he neither ſees nor hears aught, nor is ſenſible of what ſurrounds him; the features are ſhrunk, and pale, and livid; and convulſion and tremors affect the muſcles of the face. But, in all pictures of deſpair, an inconſolable and total abandonment of thoſe exertions to which hope inſpirits and excites a man, forms an eſſential feature.' p. 149.

The eſſay cloſes with ſome very judicious and original remarks on the external character of madneſs. Painters ſeem in general to have borrowed their ideas of inſanity from the ſtage, where it commonly appears merely as an exceſs of emotion. Mr Bell obſerves—

'The theory upon which we are to proceed in attempting to convey this peculiar expreſſion of ferocity amidſt the utter wreck of the intellect,

tellect, I conceive to be this, that the expreſſion of mental energy ſhould be avoided, and conſequently all exertion of thoſe muſcles which are peculiarly indicative of ſentiment. This I conceive indeed to be true to nature, but I am more certain that it is correct in the theory of painting. I conceive it to be conſiſtent with nature, becauſe I have obſerved (contrary to my expectation) that there was not that energy, that knitting of the brows, that indignant brooding and thoughtfulneſs in the face of madmen which is generally imagined to characterize their expreſſion, and which we almoſt uniformly find given to them in painting. There is a vacancy in their laugh, and a want of meaning in their ferociouſneſs.' p. 155.

The concluding Eſſay is of a miſcellaneous nature. It is entitled, 'Of the economy of the living body, as it relates to expreſſion in painting;' and it contains a variety of hints and obſervations deſerving of particular attention.

After a very luminous deſcription of the vaſcular ſyſtem in general, he obſerves—

'Of the veins, the painter ſhould remark, that in young people they do not appear prominent or turgid, being reſtrained by the elaſticity of the ſkin: neither are they prominent in women, but appear merely as faint blue lines in the tranſparent ſkin. I know not whether the veins of women ought on any occaſion to be delineated; but, in natural colouring, their effect is a faint tinge of blue, which gives a delicacy to the white, and mingles with the prevailing carnation.' p. 163.

The effects of exerciſe, poſition, and old age, or the character of the veins, is then very fully explained. He afterwards proceeds to the ſkin.

'The ſkin itſelf deſerves the attention of the artiſt, for it conſiderably affects the character of the parts which it covers; the veins, the bones, and the muſcles. In a robuſt healthy child, no veins are to be ſeen; and, for the ſame reaſon, the points of bone, and the diſtinction of muſcle and tendon, are not perceived. In a child, though the ſurface is ſmooth and delicate, yet (as anatomiſts would ſpeak) the integuments are thick and ſtrong; the fat lies chiefly on the ſurface, and above thoſe parts which in more mature age appear prominent, and mark the character. The conſequence of this is apparent in the general form of children. They have their appropriate form and beauty; but, in reference to the more perfect ſtate of middle life, they are unformed; the head, joints, and limbs, and even the hands and feet, being round and unſhapely. Such is the appearance of children at the age at which they are commonly drawn and modelled: when it ſeems juſt doubtful whether they might not be more ſecure on a broader baſe than their feet. Women, like children, have the ſkin ſmooth, but the limbs round, poliſhed, and pyramidal. This proceeds from the muſcles being leſs powerful, and the bones leſs prominent than in man, and from the fat being in great proportion, and filling up all inequalities. Time makes its aſſault on this fair proportion, firſt by overloading and taking the

ſymmetry

ſymmetry from the limbs, and, finally, by diminiſhing the fat, ſo that the ſkin cloſes nearer to the bones.' p. 166, 167.

Theſe obſervations are followed by ſome curious remarks on the action and properties of the muſcles, and the general expreſſion of weight or agility in the perſon.

'The ideal form of Hercules, is the perſonification of the higheſt degree of power, with every poſſible or conſiſtent mark of activity. The form of Hercules is not directly taken from natural appearance, but as if by inference and upon theory. The head and limbs are ſmall; the neck, trunk, and ſhoulders, preternaturally large and ſtrong; the muſcles moving the limbs are powerful; the parts moved light. But the idea of power is not more impreſſed upon us by the general form, than by the appearance of the individual muſcles. They have a ſharpneſs and prominence which could be acquired only by exerciſe and continual exertion.' p. 175, 176.

'The approach of old age gives another diſtinction of muſcular exertion. In the Laocoon, for example, we have a muſcular figure, and much anatomical expreſſion; but it is the powerful exertion of a man advanced in life, whoſe functions as a prieſt give no preſumption of the acquiſition of great bodily power. It bears no relation to either of the characteriſtic forms of human ſtrength' p. 176.

The author afterwards diſcourſes at ſome length on grace of attitude and poſture; and concludes with ſome remarks on the natural poſture of ſleep.

'In ſleep,' he obſerves, 'there is, perhaps, an appropriate attitude; but every limb is at reſt; and ſuch an attitude as indicates entire repoſe and relaxation is the natural characteriſtic of ſleep. When a fine lady throws herſelf upon the ſofa in elegant relaxation, ſhe can preſerve, while awake, the grace of her attitude; but when ſleep actually viſits her, the wriſt falls looſe, the arms gravitate into an eaſy half-bended poſition, the legs are drawn up, and nature overcomes affectation. The cauſe is this: when the limbs are ſtretched, the extending muſcles are in contraction, and the bending muſcles drawn out; it is not therefore a poſition of eaſe and perfect relaxation. If intention, or habit, does not prevent the natural equipoiſe of muſcular contraction, the joints will in ſleep be relaxed, and the limbs nearly half bent.' p. 183, 184.

The work cloſes with pointing out the diſtinctions between the poſition of ſleep and of death.

We cannot take our leave of this intereſting volume, without ſaying a word or two on the ſketches by which it is illuſtrated. Their conception and execution, we think, do great credit to the talents and taſte of the author,—they are, for the moſt part, extremely ſtriking and expreſſive, without any thing of commonplace or caricature. They are evidently original drawings, and not mere parodies of Le Brun's perſonifications of the paſſions. At the ſame time, we are diſpoſed to make this objection to them,

them, as illuſtrations of a didactic treatiſe, that they do not exhibit the muſcular affections of the countenance in an abſtract and naked form, but in combination with a number of concomitant circumſtances that contribute, we cannot tell how much, to the general effect of the drawing. When the queſtion is as to the effect of particular muſcles in expreſſing certain emotions, it appears to us, that the action of thoſe muſcles ſhould be repreſented as much as poſſible in a ſimple and ſeparate ſtate, and that no aid ſhould be borrowed from the introduction of circumſtances or objects which are of themſelves ſufficient to indicate the emotion in queſtion. Upon this principle we object to the chain and fetters of the madman, the ſword in the wound of the man dying in agony, the dagger in the uplifted hand of rage, and the erect hair and projected hands of terror and amazement. Theſe circumſtances are ſo clearly aſſociated with the ſeveral paſſions or ſituations to be repreſented, that they are almoſt ſufficient to ſuggeſt the idea of it alone, and render it, at any rate, impoſſible to ſay how far we might have been able to interpret the muſcular expreſſion, if it had been preſented to us without this commentary. Mr Bell will do more juſtice to his pupils, and ſubject his obſervations to a more deciſive teſt, if he will abſtain in future from ſuch prepoſſeſſing embelliſhments.

ART. XI. *Voyage à la Partie Orientale de la Terre-Firme, dans l'Amerique Meridionale, fait pendant les Années* 1801, 1802, 1803, *et* 1804. Par F. Depons, Ex-agent du Gouvernement Français à Caracas. En 3 tomes. 8vo. à Paris. 1806.

THAT part of South America which lies between the mouths of the Orinoco and Cape de la Vela, is little known in Europe, except to the Spaniards. Though the firſt part of the continent diſcovered by Columbus; though the ſpot ſelected by Las Caſas for the trial of his ſcheme to civilize the Indians; though the region of the once celebrated but now forgotten *El Dorado*; and though a country eminently fruitful, and infinitely more ſalubrious than any of the neighbouring diſtricts, and recently become the ſeat of an extenſive and increaſing commerce, we ſhould ſearch in vain for any adequate hiſtory or account of it in our books of geography or ſtatiſtics. Deſtitute of the precious metals, it was abandoned to neglect by the Court of Spain, after having been made a theatre of the moſt horrid and ſanguinary devaſtations by its agents; and, for more than a century and a half, its interior was explored by none but miſſionaries, and its

its coaſts frequented only by ſmugglers. During the laſt century, when it attracted again the attention of the mother country, it ſeems to have been viſited by no Spaniard whoſe curioſity led him to inquire into its natural reſources and productions, and certainly by none who has been permitted to communicate the reſult of his inquiries to the public. It is, therefore, with great ſatisfaction that we congratulate our readers on the appearance of the volumes before us, in which they will find very ample details on theſe ſubjects, accompanied by much curious information on the internal ſtate and government of the Spaniſh colonies in America. Such a work has an additional value to an Engliſhman, ſince the acquiſition of Trinidad has opened to us a communication with this fertile and delightful country; and, at the preſent moment, it poſſeſſes an accidental and temporary intereſt in conſequence of the expedition of Miranda, who has choſen this part of the American continent for the ſcene of his adventurous enterprize.

M. Depons, the author of theſe volumes, appears to have been a planter in the French part of St Domingo, driven from that iſland by the revolt of the negroes, and forced to ſeek for refuge in the Spaniſh colonies, in which he had reſided for eight years before his arrival in the captain-generalſhip of Caracas in 1801. Having ſoon after that period formed the plan of the work before us, he communicated his purpoſe to General Leclerc, when that officer arrived at St Domingo to ſubdue the iſland, and reduce it again under its former maſters. Leclerc, he informs us, was pleaſed to patronize his undertaking, and to advance him a thouſand dollars out of the public funds of the army to aſſiſt him in carrying it into effect. He continued to reſide in the Caracas till May 1804; and the work which he has now publiſhed will ſhow, that his time there was not unprofitably employed, and that the favour and protection of his government were not thrown away upon him.

M. Depons divides his work into eleven chapters, in which he treats of—the diſcovery and conqueſt of the country,—its mountains, rivers, lakes, harbours, and natural productions,—its population, the manners and cuſtoms of its inhabitants,—its Indian population,—the character and preſent ſtate of the Indians,—its civil and military government,—its religious eſtabliſhment,—its agriculture, commerce, and finances,—its principal towns;—and, laſtly, he gives an account of Spaniſh Guiana, and of the courſe and navigation of the Orinoco. We ſhall follow him in the order in which he has conſidered theſe ſubjects, extracting whatever appears to us moſt new or valuable in his obſervations.

Diſcovery

Diſcovery and conqueſt of the eaſtern part of Terra-Firma. None of the conqueſts made by the diſcoverers of the new world was diſputed with greater obſtinacy than that of Caracas. The Indians who inhabited the country at the arrival of the Spaniards were fierce and ſavage, and the cruelties of their invaders drove them to deſpair. They were not united, as in Mexico and Peru, under a ſingle head, but divided into ſmall tribes, who fought ſeparately for their independence. The nature of their country was favourable for defence, being mountainous and difficult of acceſs, and interſected with innumerable rivers, which, for a great part of the year, overflow their banks. The progreſs of the invaders was therefore ſlow, and their ſteps were marked with devaſtation and blood. But the natives were at length exterminated or reduced to ſubjection. The priſoners taken in war were hurried to the ſhore and ſold to ſlave merchants, who hovered over the coaſt like birds of prey, in expectation of theſe victims, to replace the ſufferers from bigotry and avarice at St Domingo. In no part of the Spaniſh ſettlements have the miſſionaries contributed ſo little to the reduction of the country as in Caracas.

Deſcription of the country. The captain-generalſhip of Caracas conſiſts of the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaïbo, Varinas, Guiana, Cumana, and the iſle of Margarita. It extends along the coaſt from long. 75° to long. 61° W. from Paris, and from north to ſouth it reaches from lat. 12° N. to the equator. It is bounded by the ſea, by Dutch, French, and Portugueze Guiana, and by the viceroyalty of New Granada. It may be neceſſary to remind our readers, that the Spaniſh ſettlements in America are divided into four viceroyalties, Mexico, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and New Granada; and into five captain generalſhips, Porto Rico, Cuba, Guatemala, Caracas, and Chili. The captain-general is an officer of inferior dignity to the viceroy, but is quite independent of his authority.

The temperature of this country is moderated by a chain of mountains which traverſes it from weſt to eaſt, extending from the lake of Maracaïbo to the iſle of Trinidad. The higheſt point of this ridge is near the city of Caracas, having 1278 toiſes of height; but, in general, it is much leſs elevated. To the ſouth of theſe mountains there is an extenſive plain, extremely hot, watered by the Orinoco and its tributary ſtreams. The mountains of Caracas are covered with wood fit for ſhipbuilding and for every other purpoſe; and they contain ſome gold mines, though of little value, which were at one time worked, but have been long ſince abandoned. There is a copper mine in the province of Venezuela, from which a ſmall quantity of excellent

copper is annually extracted. It is used by the planters in their sugar-works in preference to iron, on account of its cheapness, being sold at 15 dollars per cwt. A small quantity is also exported at Porto Cabello.

The pearl fishery near the Isle of Margarita, which first attracted the Spaniards to this coast, has been long since abandoned; and it is said that pearls are no longer to be found there.

Bay salt is gathered in great abundance, and of excellent quality, in many places along the coast of Venezuela. Near Araya there is a mine of rock salt, which might be worked to great advantage, were it not for the royal monopoly, which prevents any one from trading in salt except the King.

The seasons are divided into wet and dry in Caracas, as in other tropical countries. The rainy season begins in May, and ends in December. While it lasts, there is rain for three hours a day, at an average, throughout the country. The rain falls in torrents, fills the ravines, and makes the rivers overflow their banks. Earthquakes are much less common in Caracas than in Peru. When there are long intervals between the thunder-storms, it is observed that earthquakes are more frequent.

The lake of Maracaïbo is 150 leagues in circumference, and communicates with the sea. Its water is fresh, but at times brackish. It abounds in fish; and is navigable for ships of considerable burden. At its north-east corner there is a very copious spring of mineral pitch; and from this a constant exhalation of inflammable vapours, which are phosphorescent during the night, and serve as a beacon to the Indians and Spaniards who navigate the lake. The place is called, on this account, the 'Beacon of Maracaïbo.' The banks of the lake are sterile and unwholesome, so that the Indians prefer living in villages, built on shallows in the midst of the water. When the Spaniards first arrived on this coast, the number of these villages was so great, that they gave to the province the name of *Venezuela*, or Little Venice. Four of them are still preserved, and their inhabitants earn their subsistence by catching fish in the lake, and by hunting for wild ducks, in the manner described by Ulloa. They take care that a number of empty calabashes are continually floating on the lake, that the ducks may be accustomed to them, and without fear at seeing them approach. The hunter then goes into the lake, with a calabash over his head, having holes in it for seeing and breathing. Nothing is seen above the water except the calabash, which appears to be floating on the lake. Thus accoutred, he moves with the greatest stillness towards the ducks, and catching one by the leg, he pulls it suddenly under the water,

before it has time to alarm the reſt; and, in this way, he goes on till he has caught as many as he wants.

The rivers which take their riſe on the north ſide of the mountains, are ſhort and rapid in their courſe, and run directly into the ſea. They might be uſefully employed for irrigation; and they are well adapted for conveying lumber to the coaſt. Some of them are navigable to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea. The rivers which riſe on the ſouth ſide of the mountains flow through a flat country, which they inundate in the rainy ſeaſon, and are at laſt received into the Orinoco.

Porto Cabello is the beſt harbour upon this coaſt, or in all America. It is large, ſafe, and commodious; ſheltered from every wind; calm, however much the ſea is agitated; deep; and has good anchoring-ground. Guayra, the harbour of Caracas, is the moſt frequented port on this coaſt, though it is only a miſerable roadſtead. In the Gulf of Paria there is good anchorage, from 8 to 30 fathoms deep; and, on the coaſt of Paria, there are ſeveral harbours and roadſteads, by which there is a ready communication with Trinidad. There are many other harbours on the coaſt of Caracas, but none of any great note.

Population, Manners, and Cuſtoms. M. Depons eſtimates the whole population of Caracas at 728,000 ſouls, of which he aſſigns 500,000 to the provinces of Venezuela and Varinas, 100,000 to Maracaybo, 80,000 to Cumana, 34,000 to Spaniſh Guiana, and 14,000 to the Iſle of Margarita. The whites form one fifth of this population, the ſlaves three tenths, the free people of colour two fifths, and the Indians one tenth.

There are few Europeans in Caracas, except thoſe ſent out in the ſervice of the ſtate; including whom, not a hundred Spaniards ſettle annually in the province. But of thoſe who go to America, very few return to their native country, except the Biſcayners and Catalans. The Spaniards are not permitted to viſit their American ſettlements, without a licenſe from the king, which cannot be obtained, unleſs the object of their journey is known and approved of by the Council of the Indies; and the licenſe granted to them is in general limited to two years reſidence, leave to ſettle not being obtained without the greateſt difficulty. Even the Creoles, who have gone to Spain for their education, cannot return to their native country without a licenſe. So ſtrict was the government formerly on this ſubject, that a paſſport to one province did not authorize the bearer of it to go to another. Theſe ſevere, but ill executed laws, were dictated in part by political fears and jealouſies; but their principal ſource was in that ſpirit of monaſtic regulation; in thoſe maxims of religious bigotry and auſterity, which have been ſo long cultivated with

ſuch miſchievous effects in Spain. Inſtead of conſidering its colonies as a place of refuge for the idle, the profligate, and the diſaffected, where they might learn to amend their lives, and, if poſſible, forget their errors, the Spaniſh Court has watched over its foreign ſettlements with the ſolicitude of a duenna, and regulated their government as if they were to be inhabited by Carthuſians. No Spaniard could get permiſſion to go to America, without a certificate of his moral and religious character, and an atteſtation that none of his forefathers, for three generations back, had ſuffered in an *auto da fé*, or carried the infamous *ſan benito*. Foreigners of all deſcriptions, were kept out of theſe countries with the greateſt care; and if tolerated, by the connivance of the viceroys, they were ſubjected to every inconvenience and oppreſſion. But of late years, ſo much have theſe ancient maxims of Spaniſh policy fallen into diſregard, that, by a royal cedula of 1801, foreigners are permitted to ſettle in the Spaniſh colonies, for the payment of 8200 reals (about 86l.) to the crown; and, for the ſame ſum, they may be admitted to all the privileges of natural born Spaniards, provided they are of the Catholic perſuaſion, and not otherwiſe diſqualified by law.

The Creoles are of quick apprehenſion, and capable of greater application to buſineſs or ſtudy than their Weſt Indian neighbours; but their education is miſerably conducted. They are taught, in their infancy, the miracles and legends of their ſaints; and made to obſerve, with the moſt ſcrupulous attention, all the minute practices, and obſervances of their religion. They are then inſtructed in Latin; and their education is ſuppoſed to be finiſhed, when they have acquired a little ſcholaſtic learning, and attended the lectures of ſome profeſſor in theology or law. Their ignorance of all ſorts of uſeful knowledge is extreme, and can only be equalled by their contempt for all uſeful occupations. The care and improvement of their eſtates, they eſteem an object beneath their notice, and hold all profeſſions in diſdain, except the law, the army, and the church. Family pride, of the loweſt and moſt illiberal caſt, is one of their ruling paſſions; and this has been foſtered by a prepoſterous regulation, which, till lately, obtained in all the dominions of Spain, empowering children, as ſoon as they attained the age of puberty, to compel their parents to conſent to their marriage with whom they pleaſed, provided it was not with a perſon of inferior birth. This law was aboliſhed in 1803; and the authority of parents over their children, in the article of marriage, extended to twenty-five years of age for males, and to twenty-three for females; but, while it laſted, the objections to which it gave riſe, on the ground of *miſalliance*, were a continual ſource of heartburnings and diſ-

ſenſions in the Spaniſh colonies. Litigiouſneſs is another fault of the Spaniſh Creoles. M. Depons calculates that lawſuits coſt in Caracas 1,200,000 dollars annually; and, in Cuba, in 1792, a population of 254,000 ſouls found employment for 106 advocates, with a proportional number of attorneys and notaries, while the French part of St Domingo, with a population of 660,000 ſouls, maintained only 36.

With theſe ſhades in their character, the Creoles of Caracas are mild and humane, moderate in their deſires, and cautious, even to timidity, in their conduct, and in the management of their affairs. This turn of mind was ſtrongly exemplified ſome years ago, in the attempt which was then made to excite them to take up arms againſt the mother country, and to throw off her yoke. This conſpiracy had its origin with three ſtate priſoners, who had been ſent from Spain to Caracas on account of their revolutionary delinquencies at home. Theſe perſons, who were condemned to perpetual baniſhment and impriſonment, being treated with great indulgence at Caracas, and permitted to have free intercourſe with the natives, formed the project of a conſpiracy againſt the government; but, though they engaged ſeveral perſons of conſequence in their party, ſuch was the coldneſs and apathy of the Creoles, that, after their firſt converts, they made no progreſs in gaining proſelytes. After the plot had been kept a profound ſecret for many months, it was diſcloſed to the government. Some of the ringleaders eſcaped; others were taken; but no reſiſtance was attempted. It was found that 72 perſons had entered into the conſpiracy, ſix of whom were taken and executed; the reſt either eſcaped, or were ſent to the galleys, or baniſhed from the colony. M. Depons reprobates this conſpiracy with the horror natural to a refugee from St Domingo, and with the philoſophy now in credit at St Cloud.

The Spaniſh Creoles marry in general as ſoon as they attain the age of puberty. An unmarried man of twenty begins to be looked upon as an old bachelor. It is not unuſual to ſee a married couple, whoſe united ages do not make thirty. Theſe early marriages are neither productive of happineſs, nor conducive to morals. Fidelity to the marriage bed is equally diſregarded by both parties. But, if any difference ariſes, the advantage is on the ſide of the wife; for ſhe can have her huſband reprimanded or impriſoned whenever ſhe chooſes to complain of his conduct; and if he ſhould recriminate, ſhe is ſure that her ſtory will be liſtened to in preference to his.

But, in this picture of the character and manners of the Creoles, ſome allowance muſt be made for the prejudices of a ſtranger, and for the diſlike of a Frenchman to every thing Spaniſh. The

Spaniards

Spaniards of the New World muſt be very different from thoſe of the Old, if M. Depons accuſes them juſtly of being cold-hearted, malicious, and diſſembling. Becauſe there is much ceremonial in Spaniſh manners, it does not follow that there is a want of friendſhip and cordiality in their character. Becauſe there is no petulant gaiety in their parties, it does not follow that they have no converſation, or that they are incapable of deriving any advantage from ſocial intercourſe. *Pique-nique* ſuppers, we have no doubt, are very pleaſant at Paris; but we cannot ſo readily admit that they are eſſential to human felicity. M. Depons indeed perceives ſymptoms of amendment, where we ſee no great cauſe for exultation. He congratulates the young Spaniards on having laid aſide the ſword of their anceſtors, and taken to round hats, cropped heads, high pantaloons, and ſhort waiſtcoats. If they would but give up their *ſieſta*, or afternoon nap, he ſeems not unwilling to hope that they might yet attain to ſome degree of civilization.

Religious ſcruples have prevented the Spaniards from engaging in the African ſlave trade; but, with a caſuiſtry not unprecedented on that ſubject, they have reconciled their conſcience to the lawfulneſs of purchaſing ſlaves, when brought to them by other nations; and they have even made treaties, and held out pecuniary inducements, to embark their neighbours in that iniquitous traffic. The ſlaves of the Spaniards, however, are taught their prayers with the greateſt care; and the utmoſt ſolicitude is ſhown to prevent ſlaves of different ſexes from having an illicit commerce together. The young girls are locked up during the night, and watched during the day, from the age of ten till they are married. But theſe precautions are fruitleſs; whether it be that they are ill choſen, or that the unreſtrained intercourſe of the whites with the female ſlaves defeats their operation. M. Depons complains that the Spaniards neglect to clothe and feed their ſlaves properly, and that they have no phyſician to attend them in their illneſs. He contraſts, with no ſmall complacency, their conduct in theſe particulars with that of the French coloniſts of St Domingo. But, from his own ſtatement, it appears that the Spaniards give their ſlaves land to cultivate for proviſions, and allow them leiſure for its cultivation; and that, in their dreſs, houſes, and accommodations, the ſlaves of Caracas are not on a worſe footing, when compared with the ſlaves of St Domingo, than their maſters are, when compared with the former planters of that iſland.

The ſlaves of the Spaniards poſſeſs ſome advantages which the ſlaves of no other nation enjoy. If they are ill uſed by their maſter, they can compel him to ſell them to another perſon; and

if a ſlave can amaſs a ſum equal to his purchaſe-money, he has a right to buy back his freedom. In 1789, the royal authority was interpoſed, to ameliorate, in ſome other particulars, the condition of the ſlaves; but its plans of reform were ſo abſurd and impracticable, that no effect whatever reſulted from its interference. In a colony where many of the maſters ſleep upon ſkins, and have but one apartment for their whole family, it was ſeriouſly ordered, that every ſlave ſhould have his ſeparate ſleeping-room, furniſhed with a bedſtead, mattreſs, coverlet and curtains. Police officers were appointed to determine the quota of labour that ſhould be exacted from every ſlave. The male and female ſlaves were to be kept in ſeparate gangs, and not allowed to have any communication, even on days of feſtivity. Such regulations, as M. Depons juſtly remarks, were better calculated to form a ſociety of monks, than to ſupply the wants, or accelerate the growth, of a riſing colony.

The free blacks and people of colour are more numerous in the Spaniſh ſettlements, than in the colonies of any other nation. The laws of Spain, contrary to the uſual ſyſtem of colonial policy followed by the Europeans, are extremely favourable to the manumiſſion of ſlaves; and the piety and devotion of the Spaniſh character, contribute powerfully, as in the dark ages, to increaſe the number of freedmen. The people of colour in the Spaniſh colonies are in general poor, and not more induſtrious than the Creoles. They are not admiſſible to any public office in the ſtate, nor into the army of the line; but they may ſerve in the militia, and even riſe to the rank of captain. They are liable to a capitation tax, which, in Caracas at leaſt, is not exacted; and they are forbidden to have Indian ſervants. They may be phyſicians; but they cannot be prieſts. There are various ſumptuary laws regulating the dreſs of their women; but they are fallen into neglect; and the only regulation now in force is one, which prohibits them from having a cuſhion to kneel upon in church. Trifling as this diſtinction is, it is ſometimes abrogated for money, in favour of a particular family, by a royal order, raiſing the members of it to the rank and privileges of whites. The marriages of people of colour with white families of diſtinction, have been always extremely rare in the Spaniſh colonies; but, with the lower ranks of whites, they were not unfrequent, till 1785, when the difference of colour was declared to be a ſufficient reaſon for refuſing conſent to a marriage, on the ground of diſparity of condition in the parties. Since that time ſuch marriages have ceaſed, except in the caſe of white women, who having been expoſed, when infants, by their mothers, to conceal their frailty, had been ſaved by ne-

preſſes

greſſes or people of colour, and who found themſelves reduced, when they grew up, to marry in the claſs where they had been educated. M. Depons calls loudly for a foundling hoſpital at Caracas to remedy this evil.

Indian Population. The Indians ſubject to the Spaniſh government are as remarkable for the indolence and weakneſs of their character, as for the mildneſs of their diſpoſition. The Spaniſh law conſiders them as in a ſtate of perpetual pupillage, and aſſigns to them guardians and protectors. Their civil contracts are not binding, unleſs made in the preſence and with the approbation of the Spaniſh magiſtrates; and their lands cannot be ſold, unleſs under the ſanction of legal authority. They live in villages, without any mixture of Spaniards or people of colour, under a *cabildo* or magiſtracy of their own nation, whoſe authority is controuled by a Spaniſh corregidor or protector, to whom an appeal lies againſt the *cabildo* from its ſubjects, and who is bound to interfere when he ſees an occaſion, and protect them againſt its injuſtice and oppreſſion. The king's *fiſcal* or attorney-general is their protector and legal defender, in all cauſes, whether civil or criminal, brought againſt them in the courts of law. They have no labour impoſed upon them as a taſk; and the only direct tax to which they are ſubjected, is the capitation tax, amounting to about two dollars a head. The religious diſcipline under which they are placed, is extremely ſlight. They are exempt from the juriſdiction of the Inquiſition; and in pity to the weakneſs of their faith, and the dulneſs of their underſtanding, they are excuſed for tranſgreſſions and omiſſions of their religious duty, which would be ſeverely puniſhed in other Chriſtians.

M. Depons blames this exceſſive lenity and indulgence to the Indians, and alleges that it ſerves only to encourage their natural propenſity to indolence, and to all the vices attending upon it. He propoſes that they ſhould be compelled to work, but that the fruits of their labour ſhould be ſecured to themſelves. It is eaſy to foreſee, that if the ſcheme of M. Depons were adopted, the Indians would probably be condemned to labour; but the gainers by it would be their ſuperintendants and overſeers.

There are ſeveral tribes of independent Indians in the territory of Caracas; but, with the exception of the Guajiros, they are neither numerous nor formidable. The Guajiros are a fierce and warlike tribe, who are in general in a ſtate of hoſtility with the Spaniards. They poſſeſs a tract of about thirty leagues along the coaſt to the weſtward of Maracaïbo; and can bring into the field 14,000 men, well mounted on horſeback, and armed with carabines, and bows and arrows. They are ſupplied with arms, ammunition, and clothes, by the Engliſh of Jamaica, with whom

they carry on a commercial intercourſe, which excites the indignation of M. Depons. The remaining tribes of independent Indians are of a mild and peaceable character, and owe their freedom, not to their valour, but to the inacceſſible and unwholeſome regions which they inhabit.

Civil and Military Government. In entering upon this ſubject, M. Depons is ſtruck with the difference of the policy followed by France and Spain with regard to their colonies. The French planter had his eyes continually directed to the mother country. It was there he ultimately expected to reſt after his labours. It was there only where he could aſpire to honours or preferment, or even procure education for his children. The colony was a place of temporary exile, where he ſubmitted to live, in order to amaſs a fortune; France was the home where he propoſed to enjoy it. But Spain, in every one of theſe particulars, has followed a policy directly the reverſe. No ſettler in a Spaniſh colony can return to the mother country, without an expreſs licenſe from the government. Schools, academies, and univerſities, are eſtabliſhed in the Spaniſh colonies for the education of the natives. A richly endowed church and ſplendid hierarchy are open to their ambition. A numerous, reſpectable, and opulent body of colonial nobility, are ſtrangers to Spain; and additions are continually making to their number from coloniſts who never croſſed the Atlantic. Experience has ſhewn, that both ſyſtems of policy are compatible with the ſecurity of the mother country; but, if we conſider the internal good of the colonies, we can have little heſitation in giving, of the two, the preference to the French. The Spaniſh colonies languiſh under the weight of a cumbrous and oppreſſive government, calculated not for their own neceſſities, but to ſecure, by its extenſive patronage, their fidelity and obedience to Spain.

It would lead us to details as prolix as they would be unintereſting, if we were to follow M. Depons in his account of the internal government of Caracas. We ſhall therefore extract thoſe particulars only in which he differs from Robertſon, or where he has added facts or obſervations of importance to the account of that elegant hiſtorian.

The captain-general of Caracas holds his office for ſeven years. His appointments are valued at 18,000 dollars a year, one half of which conſiſts in his ſalary, and the other half in perquiſites of office. He is bound to reſide for 60 days in the colony after the arrival of his ſucceſſor, in order to anſwer any complaints that may be brought againſt him, and theſe muſt be decided within other 60 days at fartheſt. A ſimilar proviſion is extended to all the other Spaniſh colonies. Viceroys are even obliged

obliged to remain for ſix months in their government after they have reſigned it to their ſucceſſor. But M. Depons truſts that theſe proviſions againſt the injuſtice of the governors are, as might be expected, quite illuſory.

The inhabitants of Caracas are no longer forced to have recourſe to another colony for the ſettlement of their lawſuits. An *audiencia* or court of law was eſtabliſhed at Caracas in 1787. It conſiſts of a regent, three *oidors* or judges, and two *fiſcals* or public proſecutors. The regent has a ſalary of 5300 dollars a year; and each of the judges and public proſecutors 3300 dollars.

The proceedings in the Spaniſh courts of law are extremely ſlow, uncertain, and expenſive. Buſineſs is tranſacted by means of written memorials of great length, the whole of which muſt be read over in public to the judges before they can give a deciſion in the caſe. M. Depons was preſent at Caracas when a cauſe was decided by the Council of War, ariſing from a veſſel which had been cut out of port by the Engliſh. The memorials laid before the judges filled 780 ſheets of paper, and three days were entirely occupied in hearing them read. The Spaniſh law is alſo too favourable to the challenge of judges and aſſeſſors by the parties, and too indulgent to appeals. By a contraſt, ſingular in itſelf, though not uncommon in countries where the deſpotiſm of the government is tempered by the influence of the church, there is no law more indifferent about the liberties of men than the Spaniſh, and none more tender of their lives. The ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of a crime is ſufficient to hurry a man to priſon. The cleareſt evidence of guilt is hardly able to bring him to the gallows.

The *cabildos* or municipal governments of the new world, were eſtabliſhed by the Spaniards at a time when they ſtill enjoyed freedom at home, and they were therefore modelled on the plan of the cities of Caſtille. They conſiſt of two *alcaldes* or magiſtrates choſen annually by the *regidores* or council, who hold their offices for life. The *cabildos* of Caracas poſſeſſed at one time great political privileges and influence, which they obtained during the weak adminiſtration of the Houſe of Auſtria. But the Bourbons, true to their principle of tolerating no power in the ſtate that could ſerve as a controul upon their own, contrived, in the courſe of the laſt century, to reduce them to a ſtate of inſignificance in which they ſtill continue. M. Depons, who is a warm friend to the unity and indiviſibility of power, finds much to admire in this proceeding, though he confeſſes that the *lieutenants of juſtice*, as he calls them, who have ſucceeded to the power of the *cabildos*, look to their places only as a road to fortune.

The

The military eſtabliſhment of Venezuela conſiſts of one company of grenadiers and ten companies of the line, making in all 918 men, who are recruited in Spain, and diſtributed at Caracas, Guayra, and Porto Cabello. The artillery is 900 ſtrong, and conſiſts of one company of Europeans, and eight companies of Creoles, people of colour, and blacks. The militia, amounting to 4740, is formed of Creoles and people of colour. In Cumana there are three companies of Europeans, amounting to 221; 450 artillerymen; and 2245 militiamen. In Maracaïbo there are 308 Europeans on the military eſtabliſhment, 100 artillerymen, and 810 militiamen. In the Iſle of Margarita there is a company of 77 European ſoldiers, with 400 native artillerymen, and 770 militiamen. In Varinas there is a ſingle company of 77 men. The whole military force of the captain-generalſhip of Caracas, therefore, amounts to 13,136 men, ſuppoſing all the companies to be complete; but the diſtance of one province from another is ſo great, that, if attacked by an enemy, each muſt look to its own reſources alone for its defence.

The fortified towns upon the coaſt are Maracaïbo, Coro, Porto Cabello, Guayra, and Cumana. Of theſe, the beſt fortified and moſt important are Porto Cabello and Guayra. The inland towns, which are the richeſt and moſt valuable, are quite open and defenceleſs. M. Depons recommends to an enemy who would invade Caracas, not to waſte time in the attack of the fortified places on the coaſt, but to land in ſome convenient ſituation; and while the invading fleet kept the garriſons of the forts in check, to advance with the invading army againſt the towns of the interior. As ſoon as theſe were in the poſſeſſion of the invaders, the militia would diſperſe, and the towns on the coaſt would be forced to ſurrender for want of proviſions.

Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment. The ſtability of the Spaniſh government in America is maintained as much by the policy of her eccleſiaſtical government as by her civil and military inſtitutions. From the place of archbiſhop to that of door-keeper of the cathedral, all eccleſiaſtical preferment in America flows directly from the king. The prieſts, ſecular and regular, may be conſidered as an army devoted to his ſervice, and ready to expoſe themſelves in defence of his authority. To the influence which the ignorance and bigotry of the people naturally confer upon their clergy, the Inquiſition ſuperadds its terrors. Three courts of that inexorable tribunal maintain the purity of the Catholic faith in Spaniſh America.

The tithes throughout America belong to the king, and he allows out of them what he pleaſes for the maintenance of the clergy. In general, the crown is contented with one ninth of the

the produce of the tithes; one fourth is allowed to the biſhop, one fourth to the chapter, and the remainder goes to the pariſh prieſt, to the repair of churches, and to other pious uſes. There are three biſhopricks in Caracas. Before the laſt war, the annual revenue of the biſhop of Caracas amounted in ſome years to 70,000 dollars. It is now reduced to about 40,000. The pariſh prieſts in Caracas are chiefly Creoles. The number of prieſts in Spaniſh America, though infinitely greater than the good of the colonies requires, is ſenſibly on the decline. There has been no convent founded in Caracas for the laſt 60 years. Miſſions to convert the Indians were not eſtabliſhed in Caracas till the middle of the 17th century. They are ſtill in exiſtence; but the miſſionaries are accuſed of occupying themſelves little with the object of their inſtitution, and of availing themſelves of their ſituation to defraud and oppreſs the Indians. Some of them acquire great wealth by commerce, or rather by contraband. There are miſſionaries who have ſcraped together, by ſuch means, from 30 to 40,000 dollars.

Agriculture.—Agriculture is at a low ebb in Caracas. There are not twenty eſtates in the province which bring in more than 4 or 5000 dollars a year of clear income to the proprietors. Not that landed property is much ſubdivided, but it is rare to find more than the tenth part of an eſtate in cultivation. M. Depons aſſigns five cauſes for the low ſtate of agriculture in this province. 1. The proprietors are in general drowned in debt. It is not uſual for a Spaniard to ſell his eſtate, till he is reduced to the greateſt neceſſity. He prefers rather to borrow money upon it, for which he pays an intereſt of 5 *per cent.* There is hardly an eſtate in the colony, which has not ſome burden of this ſort preſſing upon it. 2. It is equally uncommon to meet with an eſtate, which has not ſome rent charge to pay to the church, in conſequence of the dying bequeſt of ſome pious anceſtor of its owner. Such burdens diſſipate the gains, and diſhearten the induſtry of the coloniſts. 3. The planters live in towns, at a great expence, and often above their income, and leave the management of their eſtates to overſeers. 4. The Spaniſh Creole has the moſt extravagant paſſion for public offices and diſtinctions; for military rank; for ſome employment in the courts of law, or in the finances; or for the croſs of ſome order. Every Creole of rank has an *apoderado*, or agent at Madrid, whoſe chief buſineſs is to ſolicit ſuch favours for his employer, when they become vacant. Immenſe ſums are ſacrificed to this fooliſh vanity, and the attention of the coloniſt withdrawn from his true intereſt, the improvement of his eſtate. 5. There is a want of negroes for cultivation at Caracas. It was formerly permitted to import negroes into

into this province from the Weſt India iſlands; but ſince the revolt of the Blacks in St Domingo, this trade has been prohibited; and from 1791 to 1804, not a ſingle negro was brought into Caracas. In 1804, permiſſion was granted to two merchants of Caracas to import each 1500 negroes into the province.

The productions of Caracas are, 1. *Cacao*, which is eſteemed the beſt in the world, except that of Soconaſco. When the cacao of Caracas is ſold at Cadiz for 50 dollars per cwt., that of the river Magdalena, near Carthagena, brings only 44, that of Guayaquil only 32, and that of the river Amazons only 25. A ſingle ſlave can manage 1000 feet of cacao ground, which ought to produce 1250 lib. of cacao, worth 250 dollars in Caracas. The other expences of cultivation are inconſiderable. A cacao tree begins to bear fruit at the age of ſeven or eight years, or, near the line, at the age of four or five, and continues to bear till fifty on the coaſt, or till thirty in the interior. There is no branch of cultivation to which ſuch attention is paid in Caracas as to that of cacao. 2. *Indigo*. The cultivation of indigo was not introduced into Caracas till 1774. It has ſince proſpered exceedingly. The indigo of Caracas is inferior to that of Guatemala; but 25 or 30 *per cent.* better than that of any other country. 3. *Cotton*. Cotton began to be attended to in Caracas, as an object of exportation, in 1782. The cultivation of it is now conſiderably extended. 4. *Coffee*. Coffee was neglected as an object of commerce in Caracas till 1784. During the late war, many cacao and indigo plantations were given up, and converted into plantations of coffee. But the whole produce of Caracas for exportation in this article does not yet exceed a million of pounds. It is reckoned that the coffee plantations of Caracas give two pounds of coffee for every ſquare foot. 5. *Sugar*. The whole of the ſugar raiſed in Caracas is conſumed within the colony. No people are ſo fond of ſweetmeats, or uſe ſuch quantities of ſugar in their food, as the Spaniards. It is calculated, that, in the province of Venezuela alone, they conſume 40,000 cwt. of cacao a year, and a much greater quantity of ſugar. 6. *Tobacco*. This being an article of royal monopoly, is cultivated in Caracas, as in every other part of Spaniſh America, on account of the king. In addition to this account of the territorial riches of Caracas, may be mentioned the immenſe herds of oxen, horſes, mules, ſheep and deer, which are diſperſed over its plains and vallies. M. Depons aſſerts, that the number of oxen is not leſs than 1,200,000; and he reckons the horſes at 180,000, and the mules at 90,000.

Commerce.—The ports of Caracas which have a right to trade with the mother country, are Guayra, Porto Cabello, Maracaïbo, Cumana, Barcelona, Margarita, and Cumana: But Guayra alone has

has more trade than all the reſt. In 1796, the whole value of the imports from Spain to Caracas was eſtimated at 3,118,811½ dollars, and the import duties came to 281,052 dollars. The exports to the mother country in the ſame year are rated in the cuſtomhouſe books at no more than 2,098,316 dollars, and the export duties at 138,052 dollars, many veſſels having ſailed without their cargoes, in conſequence of the alarm of a war with England.

Caracas carries on little trade with the other Spaniſh colonies. Its exports to Cuba and Porto Rico are not above 100,000 dollars annually. It is true that veſſels from the mother country, after diſcharging their cargoes at Vera Cruz, are permitted to touch at Caracas in their way home, and to take a cargo on board there, which they pay for chiefly in ſpecie. This trade is ſuppoſed in time of peace to bring about 400,000 dollars annually into Caracas.

Caracas, like the other colonies on the Spaniſh Main, has permiſſion to export to foreign Weſt India iſlands all articles of its own produce, except cacao, provided the trade be carried on in national bottoms; but the returns muſt be in negroes, or in farming and houſehold utenſils, and the balance, if any, muſt be paid in money. Previous to 1796, the exports of Caracas, by this branch of trade, were confined to about 150,000 dollars, in the productions of its ſoil, 50,000 dollars in hides, and 250,000 dollars in mules, which were ſold in the Weſt Indies for 500,000. The whole returns, in negroes and utenſils, did not exceed 100,000 dollars; and the balance, which ought to have been paid in money, was received in manufactured goods, which were ſmuggled into Caracas.

There has been a contraband trade upon this coaſt, ever ſince the colony had any commodities to offer ſtrangers in return for their goods; and, in ſpite of the vigilance of the Spaniſh government, it muſt continue to flouriſh, while the mother country is unable to ſupply the coloniſts from her own manufacturing induſtry, and refuſes to admit the manufactures of other nations, without duties of near 50 per cent. Before the year 1791, the French colony of St Domingo had the greateſt ſhare of this trade. It is divided at preſent between Jamaica, Curaçoa, and Trinadad. According to M. Depons's calculation, it amounted to 750,000 dollars annually, before the breaking out of the war with England in 1796.

During that war, Spain made a violent departure from her ancient colonial policy, by admitting neutrals to trade directly with her colonies, on condition that they paid the ſame duties to her government at home, as if the trade had been carried on in the

uſual

uſual manner through Cadiz. An order to this effect was iſſued in November 1797; but ſuch was the outcry raiſed againſt it, by the ſhipping intereſt of Spain, that it was recalled in February 1800. This revocation ſerved only to throw a number of Spaniſh veſſels, which put raſhly to ſea in order to reſume their colonial trade, into the hands of the Engliſh; and it gave additional ſpirit to the contraband trade, which had prevailed during the whole courſe of the war, between the Spaniſh Main, and the iſlands of Jamaica, Curaçoa, and Trinadad. This trade was carried on by Spaniſh veſſels, which, being provided with paſſports from the Engliſh admiral on the Weſt India ſtation, ſailed from their own harbours on pretence of a voyage to ſome friendly or neutral port; but being at ſea, they made directly for Jamaica, or ſome other Engliſh ſettlement, where they exchanged their cargoes for Engliſh goods. To ſuch a height did this trade proceed, that more than 400 veſſels were conſtantly engaged in it, and 80 veſſels with Spaniſh colours were ſometimes to be ſeen at once in the harbour of Kingſton. The little town of Porto Cabello alone exported produce, in 1801, to the value of 1,270,858 dollars, nominally to Guadaloupe, but in reality to Jamaica and Curaçoa. The Spaniſh government, though perfectly aware of the exiſtence of this traffic, connived at it while the war continued; but, on the return of peace, a royal order was iſſued to inquire after and puniſh the perſons who had been concerned in it.

There is a *conſulado* or chamber of commerce at Caracas, eſtabliſhed in 1793. All commercial cauſes are brought before it; and it is alſo charged with the ſuperintendance of commerce, agriculture, and public works. But this part of its duty, according to M. Depons, is much neglected. It enjoys a revenue of 80 or 100,000 dollars a year, ariſing from certain duties appropriated to its ſupport.

M. Depons gives the following tables of the exports of Caracas, for the years from 1793 to 1796, and from 1797 to 1800 inclusive. The difference ſhows, that either the exports of the colony have been reduced to one half by the war with England, or that the contraband exportation has been greatly increaſed in the latter period.

Exports from 1793 to 1796.	Dollars.
367,819 cwt. cacao, at 18 dollars p. cwt., make -	6,620,742
2,955,963 lib. indigo, at 12 reals p. lib. - -	5,172,937
1,498,332 lib. cotton, at 20 dollars p. cwt. -	299,666
1,325,584 lib. coffee, at 12 dollars p. cwt. - -	159,070
	12,252,415

Exports

Exports from 1797 to 1800.	Dollars.
239,162 cwt. cacao, at 18 dollars p. cwt.	4,304,916
703,210 lib. indigo, at 14 reals p. lib.	1,386,117
2,834,254 lib. cotton, at 20 dollars p. cwt.	566,850
1,536,967 lib. coffee, at 12 dollars p. cwt.	184,435
	6,442,318

Finances. The finances of Caracas are under the direction of the Intendant, whose authority is independent of the captain-general, and supreme in the colony in all matters of commerce and finance. He holds his place for five years, and it brings him about 18,000 dollars a year. The revenue of Caracas arises chiefly from the customs, the alcavala or duty of 5 per cent. on sales from stamps, licenses, and tithes, and from the produce of the *Cruzada*, and of the sale of tobacco. The two last are destined for the treasury at home; the others to defray the expences of the colonial government; but if there is any deficiency in their produce, it is supplied from the two others. It will be seen, from the following table, that there is usually a deficit even in time of peace; and, since the war with England, the whole receipts of the province have been unable to cover its expenditure. In 1801, the government of Caracas was forced to borrow 200,000 dollars from the exchequer of Santa Fé.

Receipt and expenditure of Caracas from 1793 to 1797, exclusive of the produce of the Cruzada, amounting to 26,000 dollars, and the profit of the sales of tobacco, amounting to 700,000 dollars annually.

Years.	*Receipt.*	*Expenditure.*	BALANCE. *For.*	*Against.*
1793.	1,212,188 1/4	1,503,583 5/8		191,365 3/8
1794.	1,561,931	1,639,900		77,969
1795.	1,443,056	1,549,874		106,817
1796.	1,389,804	1,049,247	340,565	
1797.	1,140,788	1,886,363		745,475

Topography. Our limits will not permit us to follow M. Depons in his topographical description of the country, though his readers will find this chapter to be the most entertaining and instructive part of his work. He has intermixed, with his description of the towns, many interesting remarks on the character and manners of their inhabitants, and many useful observations on the defects and abuses of their government and police. The native Spaniards to be found in Caracas, are chiefly Biscayners and Catalans, who, with emigrants from the Canary islands, form the best part of the foreign population of the colony. The Biscay-

ners

ners and natives of the Canary isles often apply to agriculture, with great profit to themselves, and advantage to the settlement. The Catalans devote themselves solely to commerce. They are all three remarkable for their industry and morals; but the Biscayners are more intelligent and enterprising than the other two. The people of colour are the mechanics of the colony. They are poor, and lazy, and unskilful tradesmen; but they are free from any gross or dangerous vices, and exceedingly devout. The chief town swarms, as in the mother country, with beggars, in consequence of the mistaken charity which feeds the idle and the profligate, at the expence of the industrious. The archbishop of Caracas, out of his tithes wrung from the industrious cultivator, distributes his charity once a week among 1200 profligates, who trust to such a resource for their livelihood.

Caracas, the seat of government and capital of the colony, has a population of more than 40,000 souls. It enjoys an elevated situation, a temperate climate, and a salubrious air. During the rainy season, Fahrenheit's thermometer varies from 76° to 52°, and, during the dry season, from 85° to 69°. Guayra, the sea-port of Caracas, is at the distance of five leagues, and is much less healthy than that city. The population of Guayra is about 6000 souls. Among the inland towns of the province of Venezuela, they reckon more than twelve which contain from 7000 to 1300 inhabitants, besides many thriving and industrious villages. Porto Cabello, like other towns upon the coast, is less healthy than those of the interior. Its population is reckoned at 7600; and that of Coro, which is also upon the coast, amounts to 10,000.

The province of Cumana is extremely fertile; and if the Spanish government have the good sense to wink at the intercourse of its inhabitants with the island of Trinidad, it is likely to prosper and improve with great rapidity. Cumana and Barcelona, its principal sea-ports, are unhealthy, from the badness and inattention of the police; but this evil might easily be remedied. Cumana has a population of 21,000, and Barcelona a population of 14,000, souls.

Margarita is a possession of little value to the Spaniards; but, in the hands of an active and enterprising enemy, it might do them incalculable mischief, by intercepting the trade between Caracas and the mother country, for which its situation is singularly well adapted.

The situation of Maracaïbo is hot, but the climate is salubrious. It contains a population of 22,000 souls, among whom are a number of noble families, sunk in indigence, and prevented, by the prejudices of birth, from engaging in any industrious occupa-

tion. Merida, an inland town of the ſame province, is diſtinguiſhed for the induſtry and intelligence of its inhabitants.

Spaniſh Guiana. The ſame reaſon which compelled us to abridge our extracts from the laſt chapter, obliges us to be entirely ſilent on the ſubject of the preſent, though it contains much curious and valuable information with reſpect to the courſe and navigation of the Orinoco.

Would the emancipation of the Spaniſh colonies be favourable to their future progreſs and improvement? Would it enable them to redreſs the grievances under which they at preſent labour? If aſſiſted to acquire, are they ſtrong enough to maintain, their independence? Theſe are queſtions, which we have neither time nor room to diſcuſs at length; but the ſubject of this article, and the intereſt excited at this moment by the expedition of Miranda, ſeem to call for ſome obſervations on theſe topics.

The greateſt defect in the Spaniſh colonial government conſiſts in its governing too much; in its being too officious, too intermeddling, too complicated, and too expenſive; in its being calculated, not to favour the growth, and protect the progreſs of an infant colony, but to haraſs and torment, with unavailing remedies, the laſt moments of a ſtate ſinking under weakneſs and decrepitude. A numberleſs hoſt of dependants is kept up, to maintain the colonies in ſubjection. Checks on the abuſe of power are multiplied, till authority claſhes with authority, and the people are oppreſſed without being protected. The ſame form of government is ſpread over every part of America, and the ſame inſtitutions eſtabliſhed in the moſt retired village, which have been found uſeful or neceſſary in the ſeats of government and commerce. The magiſtrates and retainers of juſtice are as numerous and as active in a country, where every man has plenty within his reach, as they are in Europe, where an immenſe population is ſtruggling for ſubſiſtence in the midſt of its own vices. A devout and well-intentioned government exerts more vigilance about the morals and faith of its ſubjects in the wilds of America, than it employs vigour at home in the defence of their lives and properties and independence.

The expence of the colonial government, though unneceſſarily great, is compenſated, in part, by the ſalaries of its ſervants being conſumed in the places where they are received. But more than two millions are withdrawn from the annual income of the colonies to repleniſh the Royal treaſury of Madrid, from which no part of it ever returns. The taxes and fiſcal regulations, by which this revenue is drawn from the people, are ſingularly injudicious and vexatious. Agriculture is diſcouraged by the exaction of tithes; commerce haraſſed by the collection

of alcavalas; and the people chafed and fretted by monopolies. But the leaſt exceptionable taxes in the Spaniſh colonies, are thoſe which have no other object but to raiſe money. The Spaniſh government is one of thoſe which conceives it to be its chief duty to promote the induſtry of its ſubjects, and to direct them in the right path to opulence; and to theſe ends its fixed regulations are made ſubſervient. The colonies are ſacrificed, as uſual, to the mother country; and their heavieſt tax is the tribute which they are compelled to pay to the lazineſs, ignorance, and unſkilfulneſs of Spaniſh workmen and manufacturers. With the ſame well-meaning views, one colony, one province, or one city, is continually ſacrificed to ſome other; and an order often arrives unexpectedly from Madrid, which ſuſpends the moſt flouriſhing trade, and condemns a whole province to idleneſs and want.

If there are abuſes which would be corrected by a government reſident in America, and acquainted with its local neceſſities, the Spaniſh colonies cannot but gain by emancipation. Nor are the ſame evils and diſorders to be apprehended in Spaniſh America from a change of government, which would follow any diſturbances in the Weſt India iſlands, or ſuch as befel the unfortunate colony of St Domingo. The natural ariſtocracy of the Spaniſh colonies reſides in the country, and conſiſts of men born and educated in the midſt of their inferiors and dependants. The people of colour are ſober and religious. The African negroes are few in number; and the blacks born in the colonies are reconciled to their ſituation, and accuſtomed to the ſame eaſy and indolent life with their maſters. The Indians are the leaſt of all to be feared. The form of government beſt ſuited to a people like the Spaniſh Americans, is monarchy; and if the monarch preſented to them were of the royal family of Spain, or nearly related to it, they would probably ſubmit to him without reluctance.

Some of theſe colonies are capable, even in their preſent ſtate, of forming great and powerful empires. Mexico alone contains more than four millions of inhabitants. Peru, including Potoſi and Quito, contains as many. The provinces watered by the Orinoco are leſs populous, and leſs able to maintain their independence without the protection of ſome foreign ſtate; but ſuch is the fertility of thoſe regions, and ſo admirably are they ſituated for commerce, that if emancipated from the mother country, they would advance with the rapidity of the United States. With their preſent means and reſources, they are infinitely leſs able to maintain an independent government, than the populous and opulen tregions of Mexico and Peru. Yet, it is againſt their colonies

colonies that Miranda has directed his efforts. Local and private connexions may have decided his choice; but, whatever be his ſucceſs, and nothing has yet appeared to make us augur favourably of his enterprize, we may reſt aſſured, that the colonies which he is endeavouring to emancipate, are unable to defend themſelves againſt the mother country, without the ſuccour and protection of England. It is to be hoped, that this ſuccour and protection will be either ſteadily withheld, or honourably perſiſted in; and that the coloniſts will not be firſt encouraged to take up arms againſt their ſovereign, and then abandoned without a ſcruple to his vengeance.

ART. XII. *The Itinerary of Archbiſhop Baldwin through Wales, A. D.* 1188. *By Giraldus de Barri.* Tranſlated into Engliſh, and Illuſtrated with Views, Annotations, and a Life of Giraldus, by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, F. R. S. A. S. 2 vol. 4to.

NOTHING is ſo convenient to philoſophers, hiſtorians, and antiquaries, as to have one grand ſolution for doubts and myſteries of every kind whatſoever—ſomething which ſhall be a maſter-key for all locks, or rather a *panacea* for every ſpaſm of doubt or heſitation, which may aſſail the inveſtigator into antiquity. Two very emphatic words, namely the FEUDAL SYSTEM, were long in reputation as this univerſal taliſman, inſomuch that, in the days of Triſtram Shandy, the origin of trunk-hoſe and buttered beer was ſatisfactorily referred to this reſpectable ſource. But as ſome invalids are found to prefer the Vegetable Tincture, and others the Balm of Gilead, a great number of later antiquaries have drawn their general arguments, reſpecting old cuſtoms, from the effect of the *Cruſades*, inſtead of the Feudal Syſtem. At length, even this fell into diſuſe; and, the faſhion favouring other and more remote ſyſtems of deduction, it ſeems now to be allowed, that our modern age owes as little to theſe famous expeditions, in the way of information, as thoſe who undertook and conducted them had to boaſt of real and immediate advantage. It was indeed lucky for theſe laſt mentioned perſonages, that their ſoul's health was what they had primarily and directly in conſideration. *Certes*, imagination can preſent no ſtate more uncomfortable for the body, than that of a Norman or Engliſh chevalier ſheathed in, or rather gridironed upon, his own glowing armour, amid the burning ſands of Paleſtine, and rendered half mad by an hoſt of light-armed Paynims, who, far from allowing

the Red-croſs Knights to ſlake their thirſt of vengeance upon their unchriſtened perſons, were contented to hover around them, and overwhelm them alternately with clouds of duſt and of arrows. Sorry we are for theſe doughty ſons of chivalry, that our rigid Calviniſm cannot permit us to hope that they eſcaped the ſingeing of one whiſker in the fire of purgatory, by anticipating its pains in the ſultry conflicts of the Holy Land; and that we are compelled to believe that all their reward conſiſted in the immediate pleaſure thereby purchaſed, of now and then cutting the throats of a few Saracens, and occaſionally rubbing their beards againſt the real or ſuppoſed tombſtone of a ſaint or patriarch. As to our own times, according to the later and more faſhionable hiſtorical creed, the uſe of armorial bearings is the only invention which has deſcended to us from the Cruſades; and truly, if the ſcience of Garter and of Lyon could not have been invented at home, we hardly think it was worth while going ſo far to fetch it. We owe, however, one permanent benefit to the influence of theſe extraordinary expeditions, namely, the induſtry with which ſome few contemporary authors have deſcribed people and manners which now no longer exiſt—a taſk which theſe learned perſons only undertook, becauſe their ſubjects were connected with the hiſtory of this holy warfare. Among theſe, the Welch Itinerary of Girald de Barri is particularly intereſting. It contains many curious and minute particulars, reſpecting the ſtate of the ancient Britons during the twelfth century; and it muſt be allowed that few motives could either have impelled the author to a tour through Wales at that period, or procured him that reſpect, forbearance, and protection from the lawleſs chieftains, whoſe territories he had to traverſe, excepting his pious errand for preaching the recovery of Paleſtine.

A ſplendid tranſlation of the Itinerary of Giraldus, while on this expedition, is now before us; and we entertain, both for the original work and the merits of the modern edition, that complacent regard with which it becomes the natives of one elevated region of the iſland to conſider the hiſtory of another, allied to it in all the dignity of mountain and wilderneſs. We could compare the Tweed and the Towy, in the manner of Fluellyn, as undoubtedly there are ſalmon in both. We might alſo remind the ancient Britons, that, if they have genealogies, we have pedigrees of a length equally remorſeleſs; if they have bards, we have ſeannachies; if they have *Aps*, we can boaſt of many a *Mac*; if they have mead, leeks, and cheeſe, we have cakes, kail, and whiſky. We think they could not deſire 'better ſympathy.' But it is enough, for the preſent, to vindicate our national intereſt in Giraldus Cambrenſis, by obſerving, that if ever the day

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ſhall come, that a ſteady and rational light ſhall be caſt on Welch hiſtory, its beams muſt be reflected upon the dark period of our Scottiſh annals.

Girald Barri, as we learn from a very good ſummary of his life by Sir Richard Hoare the editor, was deſcended, by the father, from a noble Norman family, and, by the mother, from the ancient Welch princes. He was born in 1146, at the caſtle of Manorbur in Pembrokeſhire. The future Archdeacon early diſplayed his inclination for the church, by burſting into tears, and requeſting to be conveyed thither, when, upon ſome hoſtile invaſion, all the youth of the caſtle ruſhed to arms. It is probable his father might think him good for little elſe; and thus, with one grain of the warlike ſpirit which was then univerſal, the topographer of Ireland and Wales had been loſt to hiſtory, and had ſpent his life in the obſcure, though furious, conflicts of the feuds of the Marches. Having acquired, with eaſe and rapidity, ſuch learning as the times afforded, he was formally dedicated to the church, in which he ſoon attained preferment. His firſt remarkable feat was in the capacity of legate to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when he fairly combated and overcame the reluctance of the Welch to pay diſputed tithes of various kinds, particularly of *cheeſe*, which muſt have been a conſiderable object in that country, if we judge of its importance by the anxiety with which it was vindicated. He alſo ſignalized his zeal for the church by ſuſpending the aged Archdeacon of St David's, who could not (at leaſt would not) diſcard his concubine; and this proved equally to Girald's honour and profit; for the Archbiſhop named him to the office and revenues of the ſuſpended dignitary, burdened, however, with a *modicum* of proviſion for the ancient ſinner who preceded him. In adminiſtering this new office, our hiſtorian had a conteſt with the Biſhop of St Aſaph about the right of dedicating a church at Keri, a village on the frontiers of the dioceſe of St David's. The mode of conteſting the point ſeems not to have been extremely different from that which two contending chieftains would have employed in diſputing the title to a manor or lordſhip; and furniſhes ſo extraordinary a picture of the manners of the age, that we cannot refrain from giving our readers the detailed account of this holy ſtrife. Girald, learning that the Archbiſhop meant to ſteal a march upon him, hurried forwards, like an able general, to preoccupy the ground.

'On the Saturday he deſpatched meſſengers to two princes of that country, Eineon Clyd and Cadwalhon, requeſting them to ſend ſome truſty men of their families, provided with horſes and arms, to aſſiſt him (if neceſſity required) in aſſerting the rights of the church of St David, as the Biſhop of St Aſaph was reported to be attended by a

ſtrong body of men from Powys. He ſlept that night at Llanbiſt, and, on coming to Keri early on Sunday morning, found that two of the clergy, and partizans of the Biſhop, had concealed the keys of the church: theſe being at length found, the Archdeacon entered the church, and, having ordered the bells to be rung as a token of poſſeſſion, he celebrated maſs with great ſolemnity. In the mean time, meſſengers arrived from the Biſhop, ordering preparations to be made for the dedication of the church. Maſs being concluded, the Archdeacon ſent ſome of his clergy, attended by the dean of the province, to inform the Biſhop, "That if he came to Keri as a neighbour and a friend, he would receive him with every mark of hoſpitality; but, if otherwiſe, he deſired him not to proceed." The Biſhop returned for anſwer, "That he was coming in his profeſſional capacity as Biſhop of the dioceſe, to perform his duty in the dedication of the church." The Archdeacon and his clergy met the Biſhop at the entrance to the churchyard, where a long diſpute aroſe about the matter in queſtion, and each aſſerted their reſpective rights to the church of Keri. To enforce his claims the more, the Biſhop diſmounted from his horſe, placed his mitre on his head, and taking up his paſtoral ſtaff, walked with his attendants towards the church. The Archdeacon proceeded to meet him, accompanied by his clergy, dreſſed in their ſurplices and ſacerdotal robes, who, with lighted tapers and up-raiſed crucifix, came forth from the church in proceſſional form. At length, each began to excommunicate the other; but the Archdeacon having ordered the bells to be rung three times, as the uſual confirmation of the ſentence, the Biſhop and his train mounted their horſes, and made a precipitate retreat, followed by a great mob, and pelted with clods of earth and ſtones. This reſolute conduct of the Archdeacon gained him the approbation of all preſent, and even of the Biſhop himſelf, who was a fellow-ſtudent with him at Paris.' Vol. I. p. xv. xvi.

Whatever honour our author might claim as the champion of the rights of his dioceſe, we cannot help thinking that the ſight of the two bodies of churchmen, each headed by their dignitary; meeting each other with croſſes raiſed, beginning with a mutual attempt at conſecration, and ending in mutual anathemas, till the bells, like a ſudden diſcharge of artillery, completely routed the oppoſite party, exceeds in grandeur indeed, but not in decorum, the vulgar ſtory of the curates contending who ſhould perform the funeral ſervice.

Upon another occaſion, Girald takes great credit for going to church, on a very ſtormy day, to abſolve certain excommunicated perſons. He admits, at the ſame time, that he would have heſitated, had not all the journey been by land; a circumſtance which ſeems rather to diminiſh the merit as well as peril of his expedition.

Moved by theſe merits, the Chapter of St David's choſe Giraldus

raldus their Biſhop when a vacancy took place. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury and his ſuffragans made the ſame choice, and recommended him to the King for confirmation, praiſing highly his learning, probity, and ſpirit. But the King anſwered, that learning, probity, and ſpirit, were by no means recommendations to the biſhopric of St David's; and thus Giraldus was kept out of the ſee, for reaſons which probably could not have been objected to many of his contemporaries. The Archdeacon was, notwithſtanding, highly favoured by Henry II., at whoſe court he reſided for ſeveral years. He was even appointed preceptor to John, and added to the number of many learned and accompliſhed men, whoſe hard lot it has been to ſuperintend the education of weak and worthleſs princes. With Prince John, Girald Barri went as ſecretary to Ireland, where he compoſed the topography of that kingdom, a valuable and curious work. On his return, he recited his labours before a public audience at Oxford, where, contrary to the uſage of the modern theatre, his prelection laſted three whole days; during which, equally differing from modern cuſtom, the author rewarded the patience of his auditors by thre hoſpitable feſtivals.

In the year 1187, King Henry having taken the croſs, Baldwin Archbiſhop of Canterbury was ſent to preach up the cruſade through the country of Wales. Girald accompanied him; and though both laboured zealouſly, the oratory of the Archdeacon had, according to his own account, more effect than the authority and rank of his dignified companion. Indeed, if we take the reſpectable authority of one John Spang, Girald would have enliſted a whole Welſh congregation of many thouſands at once, had he not fallen into the error of preaching to them in Engliſh, which they did not underſtand. The ſucceſs of their miſſion was, however, very great. Women were every where ſeen ſtruggling to withhold their huſbands and ſons from taking the fatal vow; and though their tears and entreaties withheld but a few from their purpoſe, yet Girald has collected all the vituperative reflections upon the fair ſex which either ſacred or profane authors afforded, with an induſtry only exceeded by the fifth huſband of the Wife of Bath, who compiled the treatiſe,

> 'Where divers authors (whom the devil confound
> For all their lies) were in a volume bound.
> More legends were there of wicked wives,
> Than good in all the Bible and ſaints' lives.
> Love ſeldom haunts the breaſt where learning lies,
> And Venus ſets ere Mercury can riſe.'

Beſides the averſion to theſe obſtacles called 'brats and wives,' common to Girald Barry with all thoſe induſtrious

perſons who follow the recruiting ſervice, he had alſo their happy art of turning even diſappointment into commodity. A young man coming to join the Cruſaders was way-laid and ſlain by his enemies. But the holy army was not weakened by his misfortune, for the pathetic exhortations of Girald and Baldwin wrought upon the *twelve* archers who had murdered him, to take the croſs, as the only expiation in their power for the ſlaughter. In one reſpect the Archdeacon, as well as the Biſhop of St David's, appear to have acted with the punic faith of their calling: for although the firſt to take the croſs, yet when their miſſion was completed, they very conſiderately exchanged their pilgrimage to the Holy Land for the more peaceful occupation of repairing the cathedral of St David's at home. It was during the courſe of this miſſionary expedition, that our author compiled his Itinerary, containing ſuch a variety of curious and intereſting topographical information.

When cleared from his vow to go to the Holy Land, Girald accompanied King Henry to France, during which expedition that monarch himſelf, many of his retinue, and almoſt all the perſonal attendants of our author, were carried off by an epidemic diſorder. Here he had nearly ſuffered a loſs of which only a ſtudious ſcholar can eſtimate the amount. He had entruſted his baggage, containing important letters of recommendation, a large ſum of money, and the journal of his Welch Itinerary to a ſtranger, whom he had hired as his perſonal ſervant. In his journey towards the ſea coaſt, this man was amiſſing on the arrival of the Archdeacon at Abbeville, which gave riſe to the following methodical reflections by Girald on his ſuppoſed loſs.

'Firſt—The loſs of his money was ſomething, but moderate when compared with his other loſſes; for money was oftentimes loſt, and oftentimes recovered.

'Second—The loſs of the earl's letters, and of his own appointment as Legate in Wales, was ſtill greater; but as he knew the purport of them, he could, by ſimilar letters from the juſticiary, obtain ſome kind of redreſs.

'Third—The loſs of his journals was by far the moſt ſevere, and indeed irreparable, the book not being as yet publiſhed. "*Non edito, ſed edendo.*" Life, p. xxviii.

But the reappearance of his domeſtic, with all his baggage ſafe and untouched, drew from him the obſervation,

'That God oftentimes inflicts with heavy tribulations thoſe whom he loves and guides; and at the moment when they are in the greateſt diſtreſs, ſhews himſelf propitious and near at hand.' Life, p. xxix.

When Richard Cœur de Lion departed for the Holy Land, he honoured our author with the ſituation of co-adjutor to William de Long Champ, Biſhop of Ely, Regent of the kingdom.

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In this ſituation he might have attained either the Biſhoprick of Bangor or of Llandaff, but having fixed his heart on that of St David's, he declined both. At length, on the death of the aged incumbent, he was again recommended as a fit candidate for his favourite ſee. But his powerful connexions, as a deſcendant of Welch princes, were deemed an unſurmountable obſtacle to his attaining the only preferment which he appears to have ever coveted; and a ſort of double return took place. Both biſhops elect appealed to the Pope; and Girald, pleading his cauſe before him in perſon, preſented Innocent III. with his works, with this punning compliment, 'Præſentarunt vobis alii *libras*, ſed nos *libros*.' This only proved, that our author did not underſtand the proper means to ſecure a favourable reception at Rome; for his adverſaries' pounds preponderated over his books, and his cauſe was decided againſt him. From this period he was involved in diſputes with the ſee of Canterbury and with the Court, although probably the perſecutions which he underwent have not been ſoftened in his own account of them. At length, wearied out with the conteſt, he reſigned his archdeaconry and church preferments in favour of his nephew Philip de Barri, to whom he was often accuſtomed to apply the verſe,

Diſce, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem,
Fortunam ex aliis——

Girald afterwards lived in retirement, from which he refuſed to emerge, even when the biſhopric of St David's, ſo long the object of his ambition, was at length offered to him. He died at St David's, in the 74th year of his age, and lies buried in the cathedral church. We have, in the work before us, a moſt beautiful engraving of his tomb. The character of this learned and zealous hiſtorian ſeems to be very juſtly ſummed up by the preſent tranſlator.

'Noble in his birth, and comely in his perſon; mild in his manners, and affable in his converſation; zealous, active, and undaunted in maintaining the rights and dignities of his church; moral in his character, and orthodox in his principles; charitable and diſintereſted, though ambitious; learned though ſuperſtitious; SUCH WAS GIRALDUS. And in whatever point of view we examine the character of this extraordinary man, whether as a ſcholar, a patriot, or a divine, we may juſtly conſider him as one of the brighteſt luminaries that adorned the annals of the twelfth century.

The next department of Sir Richard's work is called an introduction to the Hiſtory of Wales, from the Invaſion of Britain by the Romans, down to the year 1118, when Girald made his progreſs. This introduction does not quite merit the extenſive title which it bears. It is rather to be entitled a Diſſertation upon the Campaigns of the Romans in Wales, with a very minute, and,

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we have no doubt, valuable and curious account of the military roads, ſtations, ſculptures, &c. which ſtill preſerve the memory of their conqueſts. Many of their monuments are engraved with great beauty, and the labour of the antiquarian and artiſt have been by no means confined to ſuch as occur in Wales. Much of this learning, however intereſting, is entirely out of its proper place. It would have formed the grounds of an excellent archæological eſſay, but has no relation to Girald Barri, who but rarely alludes to the Romans, their conqueſts, or their monuments, during his whole progreſs. We muſt confeſs we ſhould have been more edified by an account of the ancient Britiſh manners and hiſtory, from the period of the retreat of the Romans, till the 12th century. This would unqueſtionably have thrown light upon the Itinerary of Giraldus; but this whole ſpace is hurried over in leſs time than is allotted to any individual Roman road; and therefore, we think Sir Richard Hoare has been ſo far guilty, both of the ſin of commiſſion and omiſſion.

We next arrive at the work of Giraldus himſelf, which is, as we have already repeatedly hinted, a journal of his travels through Wales, when preaching the Cruſade, under the auſpices of Baldwin, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Every day's journey is ſtrictly meaſured out; and the moving accidents 'by flood and field,' the detention at ferries, and the lack of guides, as piteouſly detailed as if the ſufferers had actually made the tour of Wales under all the diſadvantages of the preſent day. To be ſure, inſtead of a broken poſtchaiſe, Baldwin and Girald were occaſionally hampered by the obſtinacy of ſome ſtubborn chieftain; and inſtead of being ſerved with chickens in their ſhells to breakfaſt, they had the animating and ſublime riſk of being maſſacred at the next turning, and bequeathing their names to ſome 'wood of revenge,' or 'den of mourning.' In the ſtyle of this ancient journal, we acknowledge a tone of perfect veracity in what Girald avouches upon his own knowledge, and of ſuperſtitious credulity concerning church miracles, or whatever concerned the craft of the 'Great Diana' of the period. Such a document, in a period of ſo great antiquity, is invaluable; becauſe we not only learn from thence, with ſome accuracy, what was the ſtate of the country at the time, but we alſo become acquainted with the progreſs of ſociety, and the effect of the ancient ſcholaſtic education upon our author and his companions, certainly the beſt informed men of the age. In a word, it preſents us with a map, not only of the country itſelf, but of the manners of the inhabitants, the more valuable, as it was pourtrayed by one who was ignorant of the extent of the ſervice which in the laſt reſpect he was rendering us, and who imagined he was recording

cording facts, when he was only making us acquainted with the weakneſſes to which, in a certain ſtate of ſociety, the human mind is inevitably incident. As a deſcription of the face of the country, and as an index to the feelings of its inhabitants during the reign of Henry II., the Itinerary and its ſupplement furniſh ſeparate objects of conſideration.

In the former reſpect, although the value of Girald's work is univerſally acknowledged, it is to us comparatively an unintereſting ſubject of review. We can only allow its very important merit, hiſtorically ſpeaking, while the minute and local nature of the information conveyed is beyond our criticiſm, and, when unconnected with hiſtory, is perhaps not very deſerving of inveſtigation. Yet ſome of Girald's topographical deſcriptions are in themſelves very ſtriking; and perhaps we cannot ſelect a more favourable ſpecimen of his ſtyle, and of Sir Richard Colt Hoare's tranſlation, than the noted account of the Abbey of Llanthoni.

'In the deep vale of Ewyas, which is about an arrow-ſhot broad, encircled on all ſides by lofty mountains, ſtands the church of St John the Baptiſt, covered with lead, and an arched roof of ſtone; and, conſidering the nature of the place, not unhandſomely conſtructed, on the very ſpot where the humble chapel of David the Archbiſhop had formerly ſtood, decorated only with moſs and ivy. A ſituation truly calculated for religion, and more adapted to canonical diſcipline, than all the monaſteries of the Britiſh iſle. It was founded by two hermits, in honour of the retired life, far removed from the buſtle of mankind, in a ſolitary vale watered by the river Hodeni. From Hodeni it was called Lanhodeni, for Lan ſignifies an eccleſiaſtical place. This derivation may appear far-fetched, for the name of the place in Welſh, is Nanthodeni. Nant ſignifies a running ſtream, from whence this place is ſtill called by the inhabitants, Landewi Nanthodeni, or the church of St David upon the river Hodeni. The Engliſh therefore corruptly call it Lanthoni, whereas it ſhould either be called Nanthodeni, that is, the brook of the Hodeni, or Lanhodeni, the church upon the Hodeni. Owing to its mountainous ſituation, the rains are frequent, the winds boiſterous, and the clouds in winter almoſt continual. The air, though heavy, is healthy; and diſeaſes are ſo rare, that the brotherhood, when worn out by long toil and affliction during their reſidence with the daughter, retiring to this aſylum, and to their mother's lap, ſoon regain their long wiſhed for health: for as my topographical hiſtory of Ireland teſtifies, in proportion as we proceed to the eaſtward, the face of the ſky is more pure and ſubtile, and the air more piercing and inclement; but as we draw nearer to the weſtward, the air becomes more cloudy, but at the ſame time is more temperate and healthy. Here the monks, ſitting in their cloiſters, enjoying the freſh air, when they happen to look up towards the horizon, behold the tops of the mountains as it were touching the heavens, and herds of wild deer feeding on

on their ſummits: the body of the ſun does not become viſible above the heights of the mountains, even in ſerene weather, till about the firſt hour, or a little before. A ſpot truly fitted for contemplation, a happy and delightful ſpot, fully competent, from its firſt eſtabliſhment, to ſupply all its own wants, had not the extravagance of Engliſh luxury, the pride of a ſumptuous table, the increaſing growth of intemperance and ingratitude, added to the negligence of its patrons and prelates, reduced it from freedom to ſervility; and if the ſtep-daughter, no leſs enviouſly than odiouſly, had not ſupplanted her mother.'—I. p. 68. 69.

This rival ſtep-daughter, founded at Glouceſter, under the patronage of Milo Earl of Hereford, was originally a cell of the mother church of Llanthoni in Wales. Sir Richard Hoare, in his notes, gives us an animated picture of the charity by which the foundation was dictated, as well as of the reluctance with which Robert de Betún, originally prior of Llanthoni, compelled to abandon that ſolitary and romantic ſpot, ſought preferment in a more ſafe and wealthy, but leſs intereſting country. This Robert de Betun had been created Biſhop of Hereford in 1129, having been the ſecond prior of the monaſtery of Llanthoni.

'Robert de Braci was the third prior of this abbey; during his time the peace and tranquillity of this religious eſtabliſhment was ſo completely deſtroyed, by the continual incurſions and depredations of the neighbouring Welſh, that the reſidence became inſupportable: he applied to Robert de Betun, his predeceſſor, for advice and relief on behalf of his diſtreſſed brethren. The feelings and conduct of the biſhop on this melancholy occaſion, are ſo truly pathetic and charitable, that I ſhall give them in the words of his biographer: "Singulariter autem ſuccurrebat animo, graviuſque torquebat conventus Lanthoniæ inter barbaras gentes deprehenſus. Audit ſpoliatos ſemel et ſecundò. Audit victualia jejunis defeciſſe, nec alia jam poſſe tuto convectari. Dolet, anxiatur, luget, tanquam omnes trucidaſſet. Aſcivit ad ſe conventum, tradidit eis domos ſuas, capellam, horrea, cellaria, cæteraſque neceſſareas officinas, redditus inſuper epiſcopales, quantum neceſſitatibus eorum ſufficere poſſit. Interim quæſivit et invenit eis locum habitationis apud Gloceſtriam, expenſas dedit ad ædificandum. Secundo anno tranſtulit illùc conventum."

'Many other particulars concerning Robert de Betun may be found in his life, written by William de Wycumb, Prior of Lanthoni, and printed by Warton in his Anglia Sacra, from which I ſhall ſelect another anecdote, as relating to the convent of Lanthoni. On his promotion to the ſee of Hereford, he is ſaid to have quitted his retirement with reluctance; and on reaching the ſummit of the Hatterel hills, and looking back to the ſanctuary he had left, he burſt into a flood of tears, and could with difficulty be removed from the ſpot: his ſteady partiality and affection to the community of which he was once a member, were amply exemplified by his generous and charitable conduct towards it during the period of its diſtreſs.' I. p. 79. 80.

From

From the ſpecimen which we have given, it may be noticed, that Girald is ſpirited and juſt upon ſubjects, where moſt monkiſh hiſtorians are turgid and little ſcrupulous of veracity. We may therefore truſt, ſo far as the author quotes his perſonal obſervation, to the teſtimony which he has given us of the ſtate of the towns, caſtles, and religious houſes which he had occaſion to deſcribe; and had we any doubts on the ſubject, they would be removed by the induſtry of the Editor, who has not failed to follow his original through every winding of his journey, and who, we find, corroborates, from the preſent ſtate of many of the buildings deſcribed by the Cambrian, the account rendered of them in the Itineraty.

But although topographical inquiries are worthy of deep attention, becauſe they often tend to confirm or diſprove the details of hiſtory, yet, when remote from the ſcene of action, we muſt admit that we are more deeply engaged by what relates to the ſtate of human manners, than the mere facts that the church of St Germain is ſituated 'three or four miles from Rhayader in Radnorſhire, on the right hand ſide of the road, from thence to Llanniddloes;' or that the two caſtles, newly erected on the Traeth Mawr, are 'one called Deudraeth, belonging to the ſons of Conan, ſituated in Evionyth, towards the northern mountains; the other, named Carn Mardryn,' &c. Our attention has been, therefore, principally engaged by the numerous traits of Welch manners with which Girald has diverſified his journal. He often favours us with hiſtorical anecdotes; and although he yet more frequently gives ſuperſtitious details of miracles and prodigies, we are not to view even theſe *anilia* with too faſtidious an eye. To know what men believe, is one mode of eſtimating what they are. Beſides, ſuch tales are rarely told, without bringing out ſome circumſtance reſpecting the habits and cuſtoms of the actors. For example, in the tale of the ſpectre who appeared to Henry, we have a ſlight ſpecimen of the Engliſh of that early period. In theſe reſpects, ſuch legends may be even more valuable than the facts of hiſtory herſelf; for the dry detail of the annals of a rude people are only intereſting to their deſcendants; whereas, whatever tends to aſcertain the manners of an early ſtage of ſociety, is a ſtep gained in the hiſtory of mankind.

Among the cuſtoms which Giraldus and his commentator have thus preſerved, we cannot help diſtinguiſhing very many which are ſtill common in Scotland. The ſtrange kind of divination practiſed by inſpecting the blade-bone of a ſheep, Vol. I. p. 192. is not entirely worn out in the Highlands of Scotland. The

The cloth made by the Welch for their garments, was called Breachan; and the ſame name is, in old ballad poetry, given to the Highland tartan.

'He turned him right and round about,
And rowed him in his breachan;
And laid him down to ſey a ſleep,
I' the Lawlands o' Buleighan.'

The curious account given by Sir Richard of the Druidical ceremonies obſerved on the firſt of November, immediately recal to a Scotchman the ſuperſtitious ſports of Hallow-E'en.

'The autumnal fire is ſtill kindled in North Wales, being on the eve of the firſt day of November, and is attended by many ceremonies; ſuch as running through the fire and ſmoke, each caſting a ſtone into the fire, and all running off at the concluſion, to eſcape from the black ſhort-tailed ſow; then ſupping upon parſnips, nuts, and apples; catching up an apple ſuſpended by a ſtring with the mouth alone, and the ſame by an apple in a tub of water: each throwing a nut into the fire; and thoſe that burn bright, betoken proſperity to the owners through the following year, but thoſe that burn black and crackle, denote misfortune. On the following morning the ſtones are ſearched for in the fire, and if any be miſſing, they betide ill to thoſe who threw them in.' Vol. II. p. 315.

The burning of nuts is mentioned at great length by Burns, and is in univerſal obſervance in Scotland, though the augury is limited to love affairs. The ducking for apples, and ſnatching at them when ſuſpended, are alſo common practices. The paſſing-bell, mentioned as having been formerly uſed in Wales, is, or at leaſt was, within theſe few years retained in ſome parts of Scotland. The beadle went before the coffin, alternately ringing a ſmall handbell, and reciting part of a pſalm, or at leaſt ſome religious rhime, in a very lugubrious tone. Many other curious coincidences might be mentioned.

In the laſt part of his work, which is a deſcription of Wales, Giraldus gives us two formal and diſtinct treatiſes on the good and bad qualities of his countrymen. Theſe run very much into each other. For example, we learn from the firſt, that the Welch were the moſt ſober and abſtemious of men, when living upon their own account; but from the ſecond, that they amply indemnified themſelves, when they had an opportunity of feeding on free coſt. In the firſt, they are praiſed for the dauntleſs courage with which they expoſed their naked boſoms to the ſpears of the mailed Normans; in the ſecond, cenſured for their baſe and diſhonourable cuſtom of flying when ſteadily oppoſed. Among their virtues, is enumerated that of continence; among their vices, a bad habit of marrying their couſins-german; and finally, Giraldus, as an Engliſhman, gives his advice how Wales

Wales may be beſt ſubdued and governed, while, as a Welchman, he inſtructs his countrymen, in a ſeparate chapter, how they may beſt rebel againſt and reſiſt the Saxon domination. There can be, however, little doubt, that, in his heart, he was a true Welchman, as is evident from the concluſion of his work, which we ſhall extract, as a ſpecimen both of the original and of the tranſlation.

'The Engliſh, I ſay, fight in order to expel the natural inhabitants from the iſland, and ſecure to themſelves the poſſeſſion of the whole; but the Welſh maintain the conflict, that they, who have ſo long enjoyed the ſovereignty of the whole kingdom, may at leaſt find a hiding-place in the worſt corner of it, amongſt the woods and marſhes; and, baniſhed, as it were, for their offences, may there in a ſtate of poverty, for a limited time, perform penance for the exceſſes they committed in the days of their proſperity. For the perpetual remembrance of their former greatneſs, the recollection of their Trojan deſcent, and the high and continued majeſty of the kingdom of Britain, may draw forth many a latent ſpark of animoſity, and encourage the daring ſpirit of rebellion. Hence, during the military expedition which King Henry the Second made in our days againſt South Wales, an old Welſhman at Pencadair, who had faithfully adhered to him, being deſired to give his opinion about the royal army, and whether he thought that of the rebels would make reſiſtance, and what would be the final event of this war, replied, "This nation, O king, may now, as in former times, be haraſſed, and in a great meaſure weakened and deſtroyed by your and other powers, and it will often prevail by its laudable exertions; but it can never be totally ſubdued through the wrath of man, unleſs the wrath of God ſhall concur. Nor do I think, that any other nation than this of Wales, or any other language, whatever may hereafter come to paſs, ſhall in the day of ſevere examination before the Supreme Judge, anſwer for this corner of the earth." II. 360, 361.

Sir Richard Hoare's part of the work is reſpectably executed. The Engliſh is good, and yet preſerves that ſort of formality which is not unpleaſing in peruſing an ancient author, and which, indeed, is the neceſſary conſequence of a literal and faithful tranſlation of a topographical work, where it is impoſſible to recaſt the ſentences upon a freer model, without injuring the authenticity of the tranſlation. The tranſlator's notes and ſupplement convey all that we can reaſonably deſire for the illuſtration of the text, although they want the diſplay of that varied lore with which late commentators have ſometimes adorned ſuch ſubjects. A more intimate acquaintance with ancient poetry might have added ſomething to theſe lucubrations. For example, there is a long and moſt curious romance, or romantic hiſtory, in the Britiſh Muſeum, on the exploits of

Guarine, which would have enabled Sir Richard to throw much light upon the hiſtory of that famous champion. Fordun ſhould have been conſulted concerning the hiſtory of Merlin Wyllt or Silveſter. Sir Richard would have ſeen from that early authority, that the prophet died, not in Wales, but in the Silva Calydonia, and was buried at Drummelziar (*tumulus Merlini*). We alſo think Sir Richard might have lightened his labours a little, by appealing to Drayton, and other ancient Engliſh poets; and are rather ſurprized, when he deſcribes Barri, that he omits the famous verſes of Spenſer, on the ſubject of the din heard amid its rocks, which he poetically imputes to the ſpirits labouring to complete a duty impoſed on them by Merlin, as ſtill expecting the return of their taſkmaſter. But, although ſome of theſe little fringes and ornaments might have been introduced with good effect, we are far from thinking that the commentator has been idle or indifferent. Much valuable and curious matter is drawn from the Cambrian bards, with ſome very ſpirited Engliſh verſions of their poetry, by Richard Fenton, Eſq. The following is a ſpecimen from his tranſlation of the Hirlas, or Drinking-Horn of Owen.

'Cup-bearer, when I want thee moſt,
With duteous patience mind thy poſt,
Reach me the horn, I know its power
Acknowledged in the ſocial hour;
Hirlas, thy contents to drain
I feel a longing, e'en to pain:
Pride of feaſts, profound and blue,
Of the ninth wave's azure hue,
The drink of heroes formed to hold,
With art enrich'd and lid of gold!
Fill it with *bragawd* to the brink,
Confidence-inſpiring drink;
Then fill'd, the horn to *Gwgan* bear,
Warrior of the brow ſevere,
Whoſe gallant actions loud proclaim
His title to the cup of fame;
Bold in their courſe, unmatch'd for ſpeed
Are the whelps of *Gronwy's* breed;
Rouſed to battle, who can ſtand
The force of the reſiſtleſs band,
Who, in every conflict hard,
Merit well the bright reward;
Valued chiefs in ſudden ſhout,
Deliverers from diſgraceful rout!
Whoſe guardian voices ever near
Sabrina's ſhepherds joy to hear,
Whoſe fame on record ſhall be found,
So long as horns and mead go round.' II. p. 219. 220.

The notes, as well as the original of Giraldus, ſupply ſome admirable ſubjects for modern poetry; and we were not ſurprized, though much pleaſed, to meet, in the courſe of our reading, with many of the incidents and heroes of Southey's Madoc. We have, for example,

——' That hot and unexpected charge
On Keiriog's bank ——————
——————— and Berwyn's after ſtrife.'

We recognized alſo, with pleaſure, our friends Rhys,[1] Cyveilioc, and even old Goagan of Powisland. Giraldus, too, furniſhed Southey with the intereſting anecdote concerning the diſinterring of old King Owen; in which unworthy operation, we are afraid, the archdeacon was himſelf an aſſiſtant.

This work is moſt beautifully printed, and adorned with engravings, both of the monuments of antiquity, and of the ſcenes traverſed by the Miſſionaries of the Cruſade. It is a ſplendid preſent to Wales; and he will deſerve well of Ireland, and we will add of Britain, who ſhall give an edition of the Topographia Hiberniæ, as well tranſlated and illuſtrated.

Art. XIII. *Recollections of Paris in the Years* 1802, 1803, 1804, and 1805. By John Pinkerton. 2 Vol. 8vo. pp. 1025. Longman & Co. London, 1806.

We have long known Mr Pinkerton as a laborious, polemical antiquary, and a diligent compiler of antiquarian hiſtory, in a moſt abſurd and deteſtable ſtyle. We expected ſomething intereſting, however, from the Pariſian recollections of a man ſo learned and induſtrious; and after being quite ſickened with deſcriptions of the galleries, gardens, dinners, and ſpectacles of Paris, we looked forward with much ſatisfaction to the more ſubſtantial entertainment of Mr Pinkerton's erudition and originality. It was infinitely conſolatory, therefore, for us to read in his preface, that many of the topics of which he was to treat, 'were ſuch as did not occur in the works of *fugitive* travellers;' and that new views were introduced on the moſt trivial, for the inſtruction as well as the amuſement of his readers.

On turning, with ſome impatience, to the work itſelf, we were highly gratified to find the firſt chapter preſented under the impoſing title of 'General Ideas,' and prepared ourſelves for the diſcuſſion of ſome profound and comprehenſive maxims as to the ſucceſſion of political events, and the revolutions of empire, or at leaſt for the expoſition of ſome grand principles for the diſcri-

mination of national character, or the correction of prejudices. Inſtead of this, however, we were mortified to diſcover, that Mr Pinkerton's 'general ideas' conſiſted entirely of a very few miſcellaneous *facts* with regard to the city of Paris, arranged in the moſt fantaſtical order that can well be imagined. We are there told, that the water of the Seine is greeniſh; and that, in the Place Dauphiné, there is a ſuperb monument to the memory of General Deſaix: that the Emperor Julian admired Paris as a place of reſidence; and that it is warmer than London in ſummer: that the river was frozen over for a fortnight in 1802; and that the people there do not burn coals, but wood. The next chapter, which is entitled, 'Of the Environs of Paris,' is ſtill worſe. It contains abſolutely nothing that can be called information; and the ſum of its topographical deſcription, we think, amounts to this: That there is a picturеſque iſland at Charenton; and that St Cloud is a delightful village: that the road from it to Paris is lighted by *reverberating* lamps; and that, at Mont Martre, there are ale-houſes where the common people dance and eat ſallads. We are likewiſe informed, that, on one of theſe occaſions, the floor gave way, and that ſeveral of theſe merry perſons were ſuffocated in the rubbiſh.

All this, we muſt confeſs, rather diſheartened us; but our aſtoniſhment, it will eaſily be believed, was extreme, when we diſcovered, as we went on, that our plodding, pedantic, pugnacious archæologiſt, who left this country with a confirmed character for all theſe accompliſhments in 1802, was, in the courſe of three little years, transformed into a ſtrange likeneſs of a Pariſian *petit-maître;* was become a profound critic in wines, dreſſed diſhes, and ornaments for the table; was in raptures with the freedom and gallantry of the French ladies; prattled pieces of philoſophiſm about adultery and the laws of divorce; and, affecting an air of the moſt amiable *etourderie*, indicated the profoundeſt contempt for the uſages and faſhions of this melancholy iſland.

Moſt of our readers have probably had the misfortune to meet with ſome ill-conditioned young man recently returned from the Continent, burſting with admiration of every thing French, and with deriſion for every thing Engliſh; enraptured with the language, the manners, the poetry, the principles, and philoſophy, of the great nation; ſneering at our broad cloth and ſea coal, and uttering various original pleaſantries on the ſubject of roaſt beef, Shakeſpeare, and connubial fidelity. A perſonage of this deſcription is ſaid, in our vulgar tongue, to be *Frenchified;* and the word is ſo very expreſſive, that we muſt be permitted to make uſe of it. Now, we have ſeen various deſcriptions of perſons who have undergone this ſalutary proceſs, from gentlemen out of livery, to rich

rich Weſt Indians; but, until this time, it never was our fortune to meet with a *Frenchified pedant;* and truly the operation, we conceive, could ſcarcely be performed on a more untoward ſubject; the natural anxiety, ſtiffneſs, and ſerioufneſs of the original character, running into very ſingular combinations with the flippancy and petulance of the new one, and occaſionally forming contraſts of a very amuſing deſcription. It is the ſpectacle of this extraordinary metamorphoſis, which gives theſe volumes all the intereſt they poſſeſs. Mr Pinkerton's partiality for every thing French is quite ludicrous and unbounded: not only their dinners, wines, exhibitions, faſhions, and fruits, are incomparably ſuperior to ours, but their men and women, their marriages, baths, taſtes, tempers, mobs, and artiſts, are equally delightful: nay, their ſtyle of gardening is infinitely more pleaſing than ours, and their ſtatuaries much ſuperior to thoſe of Rome and Athens. All this optimiſm, too, is delivered in a ſtyle ſo exquiſitely compounded of the author's old ſcholaſtic and his new gallant phraſeology, that the reſult is ſomething quite groteſque and original. We muſt gratify our readers with a few ſpecimens of theſe intereſting recollections.

'The hour of dinner being ſo late at Paris, the formerly enchanting meal of ſupper has become almoſt unknown. Hence it is generally in the half hour of the deſert, when the roſy or white champaign ſparkles in the glaſs, that the French ladies diſplay their moſt faſcinating powers. Aſſuming, as it were, the character of actreſſes, they attack the men, or defend themſelves, with the moſt brilliant corruſcations of wit and humour, of affected ſimplicity, or the moſt refined ſhrewdneſs and diſcernment of character. Their eyes alſo become ſo expreſſive and impaſſioned, that they ſeem to wield, like Circe, the rod of enchantment.

'Diderot has ſomewhere imputed to the Britiſh fair an apparent pride, coldneſs and diſdain; nor can it be wondered that ſuch impreſſions are made by ſome Engliſh women upon Frenchmen; for the French ladies may certainly be ſaid to form a perfect contraſt, being warm, humble, and alluring. A French woman always looks upon even a ſtranger as if ſhe would be happy to converſe with him. Her eyes never fail to ſay, "Pray, my good ſir, talk to me." Perpetually and intenſely conſcious of her ſex, ſhe regards the ſociety of men as the ſummit of her felicity. Diſintereſted in her prepoſſeſſions, ſhe follows the bent of nature, and not the dictates of avarice. And it not rarely happens, that they are as ſteady in maintaining an attachment, as they are warm in its formation. The ladies of the ſouth of France, ſome of them deſcendants perhaps of the ancient Greek colonies, are particularly celebrated for the ſweetneſs of their countenance, the infinite expreſſion of their eyes, and the warmth of their conſtitutions. A fair Lyoneſe may be ſaid to form one of the moſt enchanting objects in the

univerſe; and the Grecian graces ſeem to have glided thus far to the north. Yet the Frenchmen often ſpeak with rapture of the Italian and Spaniſh women as being yet more divine. The moſt celebrated beauty of Paris, Madam Tallien, is a Spaniſh lady; and the generals have often Italian favourites.' Vol. I. p. 25—27.

This deſcription ſeems to have inflamed our gallant author's imagination to a degree of poetical inſpiration; and, blending certain claſſical images, as is his manner, with his modern recollections, he concludes by exclaiming, 'It is no wonder, then, that an Engliſh traveller feels as if he were in the ancient iſland of Cyprus; or at Rome, during the games of Flora, when the courtezans danced naked on the ſtage.' He is afterwards kind enough to inform 'the inexperienced traveller, that the French fair do not grant their favours, without previous ſelection, difficulty, and devotion;' and after giving himſelf, for ſome time, the ridiculous airs of *un homme à bonnes fortunes*, he partly communicates the ſecret of his ſucceſs, in the following ſhort ſentence, which, of itſelf, we really think, might juſtify the account we have hitherto given of this publication.

'The French wines alſo, certainly excite the amorous paſſions; and may be regarded as one cauſe of a ſingularity obſerved in all ages, the gaiety, petulance, and ſalacity of the French male, which ſo powerfully ſeduce the females of other countries.' p. 28.

After this, it will not ſurpriſe the reader to find Mr Pinkerton joining with the Pariſian *beaux eſprits*, to ridicule our proſecutions for *crim. con.* in caſes where 'a man of ſpirit would have recourſe to the ſword or piſtol, if he wiſhed to quarrel about ſuch trifles.' He reaſons alſo on the ſubject of divorce, in the following pious and convincing manner.

'In the new civil code, one chief reaſon aſſigned for a divorce, is a complete diſſonance of temper. And certainly, as marriage could never be intended, either by God or man, to produce mutual miſery, it would ſeem that no juſter cauſe can be aſſigned. Milton in vain attempted to introduce it into the Engliſh laws, which allow no divorce, except for infidelity,—too frequently a matter of laughter in France. With an equal knowledge of human nature, the French code permits the wife to ſue for a divorce, if the huſband keep a ſervant maid or other concubine in the ſame houſe; an outrage generally too powerful for female feelings.' I. 32.

But our author is not Frenchified upon points of gallantry alone;—he is anxious to perſuade his readers, that he has acquired all the ſprightlineſs and pleaſing prattle of that facetious people, and, in an evil hour, has yielded to the temptation of eſſaying his talent at light and ingenious trifling, in the following and other paſſages.

'This

'This work may be ſaid, in ſome degree, to reſemble the city of which it treats, and the people whom it delineates.

J'aime tous les genres, hors le genre ennuyeux.

In order to avoid the *tedious nature* of continual deſcription, occaſional chapters ſhall be interſperſed of a different character. Nay, as, in Paris, you paſs rapidly from a trifling or diſagreeable object, to one of the greateſt utility and magnificence, the like freedom ſhall be uſed in this picture. Yet the author ſhall not aſpire to the licenſe of Montaigne, who, in his chapter on boots, has not ſaid one word concerning boots, though he have treated of almoſt every thing elſe.

'It is to be regretted that, when titles were aboliſhed in France, the titles of books were not alſo included in the proſcription; for numerous are the works publiſhed at Paris, and elſewhere, which might as well have appeared without any titles at all; and where, as in the Hebrew, the reader may begin at the end. But, as the facetious Count Anthony Hamilton ſays in his tales, *Mon ami le belier, commencez par le commencement, s'il vous plait*, 'My dear friend the ram, begin at the beginning, if you pleaſe,' ſo ſhall we proceed to the ſubject of this chapter, which is the Neology, a name which may be extended to the new forms of compoſition, and new phraſes, as well as the new words, introduced by the French Revolution.' Vol. I. p. 38–39.

This, it will be admitted, is ſufficiently melancholy: perhaps it is a part of the ſame joke, that there is not in the whole chapter a ſingle new word or phraſe ſpecified; though, unlike the Eſſays of Montaigne, it contains nothing upon any other ſubject; but a drawling diſquiſition upon 'words which have been attempted to be introduced by writers of an uſurped and *meteoric* reputation, and which have been already effaced by the ſponge of oblivion.' There are diverſe other pieces of wit, ſcattered through theſe volumes; ſuch as the author's fly queſtion to one of the botanical profeſſors, 'Who was the *perruquier* of his orange trees?' which were cut into round tops; his facetious deſcription of dinner, as 'that ſolemn hour of conviviality, alike agreeable to *infancy*, youth, and age;' and his remark, that 'the Hall of the General Aſſembly, National Convention, &c. was uncarpeted; whence, the feet becoming chilled, the head became hot, and the conſequences are known to all Europe, forming another chapter of great events from little cauſes.' Brilliant, however, as theſe ſallies of Mr Pinkerton's wit are, in this elaborate performance, we can gather from one or two traits, that he is not gifted with any great felicity of extempore repartee; and that he has ſometimes been made the object of a ſarcaſtic pleaſantry, to which he did not know how to reply. He ſpeaks with vehement deteſtation, we obſerve, of 'thoſe fly pieces of malice, which are launched in the certainty that no reply can be given, becauſe even a repartee would ſeem to acknowledge

knowledge the juſtice of the ſarcaſm. Hence,' he continues, 'any ſuch attack is deteſted, as alike inſidious and cruel, partaking more of the baſeneſs of *poiſoning*, than even of the courage of aſſaſſination.' And, in another place, he ſpeaks with almoſt as much acrimony againſt the learned Villoiſin, who, it ſeems, had a 'trick, unworthy of a great man, of launching ſome unexpected ſarcaſm at the moment of parting, to which he knew his friends could not be prepared to reply; and which only ſhews (in Mr Pinkerton's opinion) how nearly a great Greek ſcholar could approach to the character of an old woman!'

Of the delicacy of Mr Pinkerton's taſte in the fine arts, the reader may judge from his obſervations on the Venus de Medici, which, he conceives, ſhould be ranked among the third or fourth-rate productions of the art; and from his ſtill more exquiſite obſervation, that a ſtatue, by a nameleſs artiſt of Bruſſels, 'had a gayety and expreſſion in the countenance, ſeldom found in the inſipid ſimplicity of the Grecian models.' After this, we cannot be ſurpriſed to find him extolling the terraced walks, and broad alleys of the garden of the Thuilleries, as infinitely more beautiful than the more natural graces of an Engliſh garden; and declaring, that the parts 'of the park at Bruſſels, which approach to this form, are thoſe which give leaſt ſatisfaction.' Yet, after all, we believe moſt readers will be a little ſtartled, when he quotes the example of a bas-relief of a young woman looking for a *flea* upon her chemiſe, as a ſtriking example of the elegant fancy and *amiability* of the French artiſts.

There are two chapters on dinners; and three, we think, on wines, in which Mr Pinkerton has retailed all the common-place remarks which he has been able to collect, during his reſidence in Paris, on theſe intereſting ſubjects. It is in ſome meaſure ludicrous, and in ſome meaſure melancholy, to ſee a clumſy ſaturnine man of letters giving himſelf the airs of a *gourmand enjoué*, and endeavouring to derive a miſerable conſequence from a pretended familiarity with the neweſt caprices of ſenſuality or faſhion, in the gratification of a pampered appetite. In his own inimitable ſtyle he informs us, that 'oyſters are *ſolemnly* accompanied with white wine, eſpecially chablis, particularly agreeable on that occaſion;' and then adds, with all the complacency of a man of ſuperior talents and opportunities, 'The uſe of red wine with oyſters, ſhews great want of *ſçavoir vivre*, and is even pernicious to the health, as it generally produces indigeſtion.' Fiſh, we are then informed, is uſually eaten laſt, and in this reſpect, as in all other, the Pariſian faſhion is pronounced to be incalculably preferable to ours.

'This

'This cuſtom ſeems far more agreeable to the ſtomach, and by practice is found to be ſo, than our faſhion of beginning with the fiſh, a crude food, of little nutrition, and often of difficult digeſtion. Indeed it has often appeared to me, from long experience, that what may be called the iatrical, or medical arrangement of the French diſhes, cannot be ſurpaſſed; and one would imagine that the cooks had conſulted beneficent phyſicians. A perſon who leaves England with ſo weak a ſtomach that it has long refuſed the luxury of two diſhes, may, without inconvenience, taſte of twenty at a French repaſt.' Vol. II. p. 102.

This is very comfortable intelligence; but the regimen of Paris appears to have ſuited Mr Pinkerton amazingly. He never received any advantage from hot or cold bathing in England; but he aſſures us, that he 'never returned from a Pariſian bath, without feeling a marked increaſe of appetite and health.' He is likewiſe pleaſed to inform us, that the Pariſian phyſicians have lately diſcovered, 'that a calf's foot, eaten for ſupper without any ſauce, is a remedy more efficacious than bark, in moſt diſeaſes where that ſubſtance is adminiſtered.'

He returns again to the table; and, after revelling in the muſter-roll of rich wines, he inſults our inſular taſte for not adopting the claſſical ornament of a *plateau*.

'The *plateau* which decorates the middle of the table, is often ſtrewed with fine ſand, of various colours, in compartments, and decorated with ſmall images, and real or artificial flowers. Images of porcelain ſeem particularly adapted for this purpoſe; and the proper decorations are peculiar objects of good taſte. In England, it is not uncommon to ſee a ſplendid ſilver vaſe, containing a few oranges, or a ſallad, placed in the middle of the table, with, perhaps, two ſmaller vaſes at either extremity, filled with ſimilar articles, or with bottles of favourite wine. Nothing can be more void of taſte, as the contents do not correſpond to the richneſs of the vaſes, and a ſtatue of clay might as well be mounted on a horſe of gold. A bottle of wine, a few oranges, or a ſallad, can never delight the eyes, the chief intention of the plateau; and the vaſes are only profitable to the ſilverſmith.' II. 202, 203.

Now, we muſt debate this point with Mr Pinkerton. Superb veſſels of ſilver, we think, as well calculated to delight the eye, as boards covered with coloured ſand; and oranges and ſallads, we maintain, are objects altogether as comely to look on, as artificial flowers or verdure, or even images, as our author terms them of porcelain. His chief objection is, that they may poſſibly be of ſome uſe to the other ſenſes, which, it muſt be admitted, the *plateau* never can.

We begin to tire of this, now. We have looked through the book in vain for any intereſting anecdotes of the figuring and commanding perſons in France; but this was too low an office for Mr Pinkerton's genius. Even of the Emperor himſelf, we

ſcarcely find any thing recorded, but the following obſervation; the tone and ſtyle of which, we think, favours infinitely more of a London pot-houſe, than of an imperial palace. On receiving the congratulations of the Inſtitute on his elevation, the Emperor converſed familiarly with the members of the deputation; and we are requeſted by Mr Pinkerton to believe, that he uttered the following piece of low and vulgar ſtupidity.

'He ſaid he did not admire eccleſiaſtic writers of hiſtory, who were apt to give diſtorted hues, and perhaps to rail againſt incontinency when they had ariſen from the ſides of other men's wives; but, obſerving Caprara and another cardinal within hearing, he ſaid with a ſmile, "I did not know that you were ſo nigh." I. 428.

Mr Pinkerton, however, ſees nothing in all this that is not very ſuitable to the dignity of a ſovereign; and proves himſelf, in more places than one, to have no want of charity for the exceſſes of this extraordinary perſon. He aſſures us, that 'the tranquillity of the country was generally regarded as implicated in the life of the chief magiſtrate;' and that the ſchemes of aſſaſſination patronized by the Engliſh, gave general diſguſt and indignation. 'Amidſt theſe repeated plots,' he adds, 'it was not to be wondered at, that ſome fury ſhould have been excited by this new and baſe mode of warfare; and the *unfortunate death* of the Duke d'Enghien *was rather pitied than blamed.*'

Beſides the ſubjects to which we have already alluded, and which form undoubtedly the leading and ſtaple objects of Mr Pinkerton's recollections, there are, in theſe volumes, ſome very imperfect details of the common objects of attention at Paris;—the gallery of the Louvre—the garden of plants—the national library—and the literary inſtitutions. There is, likewiſe, a facetious collection of advertiſements for wives and huſbands, and ſome details as to the preſent methods of education in France. All this, however, could go but a ſmall way to fill up the two octavo volumes, for which, we ſuppoſe, the author had contracted with his bookſeller; and accordingly he is reduced, we are ſorry to ſay, to very miſerable ſhifts in order to make up the complement. In the firſt place, he introduces a conſiderable pamphlet of more than 100 pages, in anſwer to the general political ſpeculations of Rouſſeau, cutting it down very cunningly into moderate chapters, and forcing his readers to ſwallow one every now and then between the Pariſian recollections. Then he is pleaſed to take this opportunity of laying before the public a vindication of his own book on Geography, from ſome attack that had been made upon its political principles by Francois de Neufchateau. In the third place, he favours his readers with a long account of the ſtate of literature in Poland; and, finally, he

he edifies them with a long ſermon upon the folly and wickedneſs of drunkenneſs, which ends with confeſſing that it is the production of a ſinner, and with 'recommending this intereſting ſubject to the *ample* conſideration of ſome moraliſt, who might enrich his work with numerous examples of ancient and modern times, and might inculcate many precious maxims of *legiſlation*, ethics, and humanity.' When all theſe devices prove inſufficient to ſwell out the volume to the requiſite magnitude, he has recourſe to two or three chapters of what he calls 'fragments' or 'ſmall talk,' in which he puts down, without method or ceremony, all ſorts of anecdotes and reflections that his memory or his common-place book can ſupply him with. For inſtance—

'Napoleon is an uncommon name, but it occurs in the "Amours du grand Alcander."

'The word *blackguard* ſeems immediately derived from the French word *blaguer*, to lie. A ſoldier will call a girl of the town a *blaguer*, or a *blaguereſſe*.

'On the 16th October 1804, ſtrawberries were ſelling in Paris at twenty ſous, or tenpence, a large pottle, ſufficient for two perſons. The means of prolonging the duration of this excellent and wholeſome fruit well deſerve the attention of our ingenious gardeners.

'Nature pays little honour to human reaſon, for ſhe has not even truſted to it the care of our own bodies. The ſuſtenance of the individual, and the continuance of the ſpecies, are not committed to our reaſon.' (II. 373–5.)

Upon the whole, we have ſeldom met with a more unſatisfactory or fatiguing performance than this, of which we are preparing to take leave; and ſhould ſcarcely have ventured to trouble our readers with any account of it, if it had not been to record the extraordinary transformation which the author has undergone. We earneſtly hope, that a few months reſidence among his friends in this country, will reſtore him to his original character; and that, in his next publication, we ſhall find him buſy with hiſtorical and geographical reſearches, undiſturbed by the nomenclature of French wines, or the recollections of French gallantry.

ART.

ART. XIV. *A General View of the Writings of Linnæus. By Richard Pulteney, M. D. F. R. S. The Second Edition; with Corrections, conſiderable Additions, and Memoirs of the Author. By William George Maton, M. D. F. R. S. F. S. A. Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians, and a Vice-Preſident of the Linnean Society of London. To which is Annexed, the Diary of Linnæus, written by himſelf, and now Tranſlated into Engliſh, from the Swediſh Manuſcript in the Poſſeſſion of the Editor.* 4to. pp. 610. London. 1805.

As the public have been in poſſeſſion of the firſt edition of this work ſince the year 1781, we ſhall confine our notices to the principal additions and alterations which Dr Maton's opportunities have enabled him to ſupply.

The particulars which he relates of Dr Pulteney, under the title of *Memoirs*, will eaſily admit of conſiderable compreſſion. From this narrative, we collect, that Richard Pulteney, the only one of thirteen children who arrived at maturity, was born at Loughborough, on the 17th of February 1730. At a very early age, he imbibed, from his maternal uncle, a taſte for natural hiſtory, and eſpecially for the ſtudy of plants. Having completed his attendance at an elementary ſchool, and ſubſequent apprenticeſhip to an apothecary, he commenced practice at Leiceſter, though with no very flattering proſpects; for many of the inhabitants treated him with coldneſs and indifference, merely becauſe he adhered to thoſe Calviniſtic tenets in which he had been educated.

In 1750, he became a contributor of articles, chiefly botanical, to the Gentleman's Magazine. Some of his more extended communications, which were inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, introduced him to the acquaintance and patronage of the Earl of Macclesfield and Sir William Watſon, and procured him admiſſion into the Royal Society in 1762. His friends, who could appreciate his character and attainments, regarded his ſphere of life as much too humble and obſcure, and exhorted him to take his degree of doctor in phyſic, and remove to the metropolis. In 1764, he accordingly obtained his diploma from the Univerſity of Edinburgh, though he had not in all reſpects complied with the academical regulations. His inaugural diſſertation, entitled, *Cinchona Officinalis*, was deemed worthy of inſertion in the *Theſaurus Medicus*.

Having now removed to London, Dr Pulteney was introduced, by the celebrated Mrs Montagu, to his relation the Earl of Bath, who appointed him phyſician to his perſon, with a handſome

ſome ſalary. The death of that nobleman, however, which happened very ſoon after, induced the Doctor to accept of a medical vacancy at Blandford, where, by his ſkill, prudence and honourable conduct, he ſoon eſtabliſhed his profeſſional reputation, and the independence of his circumſtances.

Beſides his view of the writings of Linnæus, he publiſhed, 'Hiſtorical and Biographical Sketches of the Progreſs of Botany in England, from its Origin to the Introduction of the Linnæan Syſtem.' Theſe were at firſt intended as an Introduction to an abbreviated Engliſh Flora; but the author was reluctantly perſuaded, 'by thoſe who underſtood book-*making* better than himſelf,' to limit his publication to the Sketches. He likewiſe furniſhed ſome valuable materials for *Aikin's England Delineated*, *Nichols's Hiſtory of Leiceſterſhire*, and Gough's edition of *Hutchins's Dorſetſhire*. He was in habits of correſpondence with ſome of the moſt eminent botaniſts in Europe, excelled in conchology, and was no mean proficient in ſubjects more immediately connected with his profeſſion. Such was the conſtancy of his application, that 'every viſit that he made to a diſtant patient; every walk that he took in the vicinity of his own reſidence, furniſhed him with ſome new fact, or with ſome addition to his muſeum. He was in the habit of recording every plant he ſaw, either wild in the hedge-rows, or adorning the green-houſes of his friends; and the principal contents of every cabinet he inſpected were always noted down. In ſhort, our indefatigable naturaliſt ſeems to have taken for his motto the maxim of his great maſter, Linnæus—"*Nulla dies ſine linea.*" The exhauſtion, however, occaſioned by unremitting labour of intellect, by long journeys, and ſleepleſs nights, began to affect a conſtitution which was never vigorous, and, on the 7th of October 1801, induced an inflammation on the lungs, which proved fatal on the 13th of the ſame month.

With unwearied zeal in the proſecution of his favourite ſtudy, Dr Pulteney combined unſullied purity of manners, a generous independence of ſentiment, unfeigned benevolence, and a marked abhorrence of bigotry and intolerance. To Mrs Pulteney, he bequeathed the bulk of his affluent fortune, to the Linnæan Society his valuable muſeum, and to the editor of the preſent work his botanical manuſcripts.

In adverting to the principal portion of Dr Maton's editorial labours, it may be proper to remind our readers, that his predeceſſor diſclaimed all pretenſions to the character of a biographer, and that he incorporated, in the firſt part of his performance, only ſuch particulars relative to the private life of his author, as might 'relieve the tedioufneſs of a bare account of books, and connect,

connect, in a better manner, the series and occasion of his publications.' As he even regrets the scantiness of such notices, we cannot charge his learned editor, who has considerably multiplied them, with any deviation from the original design; yet such is the distribution of his materials, that when he acts in conformity to the views and wishes of his deceased friend, he anticipates some interesting passages of a subsequent part of the volume. In the event of a second impression of the book, we would submit to Dr Maton's consideration the propriety of moulding his materials anew, and exhibiting a regular view of the life and writings of the great Swedish naturalist. Even a separate and connected narrative of his life, illustrated by occasional extracts from his correspondence, and interspersed with suitable remarks, is still wanting, to supersede the clumsy and inaccurate pages of Stoever, and the flimsy encomiums of the foreign Eloges. Linnæus, indeed, consumed months and years in silently poring over volumes and the productions of nature: but of the father of modern nomenclature, and of the man who, by his own exertions, rose from the condition of a beggar-boy to wealth, nobility, and fame, we are solicitous to know more than that he was studious and indefatigable; and, fortunately, more may be known. Some authentic details may be traced in his own writings, or in those of his pupils and followers. The president of the Linnæan Society possesses manuscripts which probably throw additional light on some parts of his life and character, and a curious collection of facts is annexed to the volume now before us. Without materially affecting the interest with which we peruse these memoranda, Dr Maton might certainly have furnished us with a more circumstantial recital of the Lapland Tour than has hitherto appeared. The consideration, however, that Dr Smith has destined the *Lachesis Lapponica* for the press, has probably restrained his pen.

We now hasten to announce, that our judicious editor has not only added to the biographical notices, but adopted such an arrangement of the critical remarks, as to preserve the order of chronology, and admit the regular incorporation of the requisite corrections. He, moreover, presents us with an entire, instead of a partial retrospect of the *Systema Naturæ*, with a complete tabular analysis of the *Materia Medica*, and with indications of volumes 8, 9, & 10, of the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, which were published since Dr Pulteney composed his work.

'Besides these more obvious additions, notices and observations are interspersed in various parts of the work, tending either to supply what the editor deemed improper to be omitted, or to perfect more nearly the author's original plan. Since Dr Pulteney wrote, there have been new editions of several of the works which he mentions; and improvements

ments in various parts of them have been so generally adopted by the Linnean school, as to require being distinctly noticed in a performance like the present. Hence, in *this* respect also, much additional matter has been introduced, serving to render the volume as complete a view of the existing state of Linnæan literature, as the editor's opportunities of information would permit. These opportunities have been greater, perhaps, than could be enjoyed elsewhere in the world; and if (as will too probably be the case) he should not be found to have employed them in a manner adequate to the expectations of the public, his claims to indulgence can be grounded only on the various avocations and duties necessarily attendant on an active profession. Sir Joseph Banks's kind permission to make use of his invaluable library; the accurate information and friendly assistance of Mr Dryander, one of the few surviving pupils of Linnæus; the communications with which he has been favoured by Dr James Edward Smith, possessor of the Linnean MSS., library, and museum; and various other advantages, the editor cannot acknowledge without peculiar satisfaction and thankfulness.' p. vii. viii.

We likewise learn, from a marginal note, that Professor Williams of Oxford permitted the editor to make use of the manuscripts belonging to the Botanical Library in that University.

Among the notices which Dr Maton has enlarged, and which might have invited him to still greater expansion, are those which relate to the travelling pupils of Linnæus, whom Dr Pulteney had despatched with dry and unintersting brevity. Of the 9th and 10th volumes of the *Amœnitates*, to which Linnæus did not contribute, only the titles of the papers are given; but we should have been glad to see a more regular abstract of the 8th, both because its contents are so little known to the mere English reader, and because, when the Doctor indulges in a little dilatation, we recognize the superior interest of his analysis. We extract the following instance, for the benefit of all whom it may concern.

'Linnæus (as we have before remarked) derived great benefit, under the attacks of gout to which he was subject, from the use of strawberries. The present paper states particularly, in addition to a botanical history of the genus *Fragaria*, the circumstances under which that fruit proved of such singular service to our author, and which induced him to recommend it to arthritic patients in general. It appears, that about the end of June 1750, he experienced so violent an attack as to be unable to take either nourishment or repose for a fortnight; and he could not even keep his feet quiet two minutes at a time. The complaint passed from one foot to the other, into his hands, and also to other joints, affecting them with redness, swelling, and all the usual appearances. A plate of strawberries having been accidentally brought to him, whilst he was in this afflicted state, they proved to be the only article that was at all grateful to his palate; and after eating them he slept some

ſome hours, the only time during the whole fourteen days of his illneſs. When he awoke, he ate more ſtrawberries; and having again good ſleep from midnight until the next morning, he found himſelf well enough to leave his bed, and in fact experienced no pain whatever, though the diſeaſe had of courſe debilitated him extremely. The following year, the gout came on again, about the ſame period; and our invalid being then at Drottningholm, his pale ſickly countenance ſtruck the Queen, who very condeſcendingly inquired what he would take? Linnæus replied, "*Strawberries,*" which were not to be procured. Her Majeſty, however, ordered a plate of this fruit to be brought; and having eaten that quantity, he found himſelf well enough the next morning to go to court. The gout returned the *third* year (but in a much ſlighter degree than before), and was again cured by ſtrawberries; and on its acceſs the *fourth* and *fifth* times, at the ſame ſeaſon in the ſucceeding years, the ſame occurrences took place, and they were remedied by the ſame means. The attacks gradually became leſs violent, and, by perſevering in the uſe of this fruit every ſummer, they did not recur at all for nearly twenty years; indeed, we do not find that Linnæus experienced a return of gout even *after* that interval.—It is no wonder, therefore, that the writer of this diſſertation pronounces ſtrawberries preferable to any medicine hitherto diſcovered, for the cure of arthritic diſorders.

'Two caſes are mentioned, ſhowing that, wholeſome as ſtrawberries are univerſally conſidered, they will notwithſtanding act as a *poiſon* on ſome perſons. They occaſioned *ſyncope*, ſucceeded by a petechial efflorescence on the ſkin.' p. 478—480.

With reſpect to the propriety of ſuppreſſing the tables and notes, annexed to the *Pan Suevus*, in the firſt edition, we muſt be allowed to entertain our doubts. Dr Maton's apology beſpeaks his modeſty; but ought it to be admitted? He tells us they are omitted, becauſe 'they would have required more numerous additions and corrections, to render them ſuited to the exiſting ſtate of agriculture and rural economy, than the editor's knowledge of thoſe branches qualified him to undertake.' Yet, ſurely, it would have been better to have retained them in their unaltered form, than wholly to expunge them; or, perhaps, ſome friend, converſant in the details of huſbandry, might have furniſhed the ſuitable amendments. The account of the *Hortus Cliffortianus*, and of ſome other works, is ſtill too meagre and ſcanty, to convey adequate notions of their contents and merits. We are indeed aware, that the handſome ſize to which the volume has already attained, may be alleged as an objection to all the additional matters which we have taken the liberty to ſuggeſt: and, to ſpeak plainly, we believe, with the Greeks of old, that a great book is a great evil: but a very inconſiderable reduction in the typography, and the omiſſion of a long catalogue of the ge-

neric names of plants, (mere names without definitions), would have left room for the propoſed inſertions, without marring the ſhape and proportions of the volume.

Dr Maton laments that we have no view of the ſyſtems of botaniſts ſubſequent to Linnæus; but if our recollection be accurate, ſome ſuch view may be found in Mouton-Fontenille's *Tableaux des Syſtémes Généraux et Particuliers de Botanique.* Some notices may likewiſe be collected from Gerardin's *Tableau Elémentaire de Botanique;* and the improved arrangements of De Juſſieu's Natural Orders have been lately illuſtrated in four volumes octavo, by Jaumont St Hilaire.

Having ſtated, without reſerve, the few ſtrictures to which the preſent publication ſeems to be liable, we may venture to aſſert, that its merits greatly outweigh its defects; that it manifeſts candour, judgment, and diligence; and that it may be ſafely reſorted to, as the moſt commodious and accurate *catalogue raiſonné* of the Linnæan writings which has hitherto appeared.

To ſatisfy our readers of the authenticity of the extraordinary morſel of biography, annexed, under the title of the Diary of Linnæus, we ſhall employ the editor's own words.

'At the latter end of the year 1799, M. Fredenheim, ſon of Dr Mennander, Archbiſhop of Upſala, conveyed (on certain conditions) to Robert Gordon, Eſq. merchant at Cadiz, a variety of manuſcripts to be printed in England. In conſequence of the death of Mr Gordon, however, the publication did not take place in the manner intended; and the manuſcripts, devolving to that gentleman's executors, were diſpoſed of by them to the publiſher of this volume, but not without the heirs of M. Fredenheim having been duly acquainted with all the circumſtances of the tranſaction. Beſides a conſiderable number of letters, written with Linnæus's own hand, to Dr Mennander, and ſome other papers, there is a folio manuſcript book, containing about 80 pages, in the Swediſh language, and entitled "*Vita Caroli Linnæi,*" &c. M. Fredenheim's coat of arms is affixed to the inſide of the cover; and on the page oppoſite to the firſt part of the Diary is a note, of which the following is a tranſlation, viz.

"Right Reverend Biſhop,

"The meſſenger will not wait until I have time to write. Be ſo good as to eraſe, alter, and add, *pro tua ſapientia.*"

'This note is explained by the following memorandum, found among the papers juſt alluded to:

"On the 22d of January 1770, the Archiater von Linné ſent from Upſala his *Curriculum Vitæ* (in a very circumſtantial form, and continued by him up to that time) to Biſhop Mennander, who was then at the Diet, at Stockholm, with the following ſhort *vehiculum*, written on the very document. [*See above.*] This Life, which is further mentioned in the letters of the 29th of January, 1762, 30th of October, [illegible]

19th

19th of November, 1769, and 24th of January, 1770, therein copied, and alſo ſeparately preſerved, together with a Latin tranſlation (not completed) by my late father, and the genealogy of the family of Linné, made by the governor of the province, Baron Tilas, was dictated with all the ingenuous ſimplicity of Linné, and in ſome places interlined and corrected by himſelf. It is certainly the only life of him wholly compoſed by himſelf, and of courſe the moſt intereſting and worthy to be publiſhed of all the other papers, among which are fifty-five letters to his moſt intimate friend from youth, who was fortunate enough to have chiefly contributed, if not towards rewarding this great man, at leaſt towards encouraging him."

'The paſſages in the letters, referred to in this memorandum, are copied in the ſame handwriting (viz. that of M. Fredenheim) at the head of the Diary, and are to the following purport.

"I have here drawn up my own panegyric, and found that *propria laus ſordet.* I ſhould never have ſhown it to any body in the world, if not to the only one of all my friends, who has been unalterably ſuch, from times when I was in leſs advantageous circumſtances. If you ſhould be pleaſed to extract any thing from it, my dear friend, it would attract notice, when coming from ſuch a pen as yours. I am quite aſhamed to lay it before you, and ſhould never have done ſo, had I not been convinced of your friendſhip and uniform ſincerity. ——*Upſala, Jan.* 29. 1762."

'(It would appear from this extract, that Linnæus had ſent his memoirs to the Archbiſhop in the year 1762; but, if we may judge from a paſſage in another letter, quoted below, the Archbiſhop did not actually receive them until the 22d of January, 1770.)

"My principal object in wiſhing to ſee you at Stockholm, my dear friend, was to beg of you, who have ſhown the moſt ſincere and conſtant friendſhip for me, to take the trouble (when you are at leiſure) of writing, in Latin, my inſignificant memoirs, which ought to be delivered to the French Academy, as I am *Ordinarius Extraneus Profeſſor*; and, ſince age and attendant circumſtances admoniſh me *colligere farcinas*, the ſooner this is done the better.——*Upſala, Oct.* 30. 1769."

"I cannot mention my perſonal merits without ſome preface; for *propria laus ſordet*, and ſelf-love will here and there ſhew itſelf.——*Upſala, Nov.* 19. 1769."

"The day before yeſterday I ſent, by a peaſant, my *Curriculum Vitæ*, under cover to Archiater Bäck. If he ſhould not have already tranſmitted it to you, you will recollect that Archiater Bäck lives oppoſite the cannon-foundery yard, or the gate of it.

"If, when you return home, you ſhould have time, be ſo good as to think of me. It was written at various intervals, and, of courſe, with various degrees of attention. Pray alter the ſhape of it in any way you pleaſe, as it is intended only to ſtate facts. This will be the laſt ſervice that can be rendered to me, who now ſee people of my time of life dropping on all ſides. *Ego infelix ſocius reſto.*—*Jan.* 24. 1770."

'Theſe

'These passages explain all the circumstances connected with Linnæus's Diary, and cannot require any comment.

'The Archbishop's Latin translation extends no further than the year 1730, a period having been put to his undertaking by death. The English translation, published at the end of this volume, was made by Mr Troilius, a Swedish gentleman (now residing in London), of the same family with the late Archbishop von Troil, the well-known author of the *Letters on Iceland.* Both the style and the arrangement of the original are adhered to as closely as possible, and the Latin passages are given *verbatim*, in order that there might be no further deviation from Linnæus's own expressions than was absolutely requisite.

'Through the greater part of the Swedish manuscript, the handwriting is Dr Lindwall's, who was a pupil of Linnæus; but different hands are discoverable, and the materials appear to have been put together with very different degrees of attention. The writing is in some places difficult to be decyphered; in others the sense is obscure; and there is often (as the reader will observe) an abrupt transition, in the construction, from the third person to the first.

'The earliest letter in the collection is dated "*Upsala*, 1734," and bears the following superscription, viz. *A Monsieur M. Charles Friedric Menander, Etudiant en Philosophie et Histoire Naturelle à Stockholm.*" The last letter is dated "*Upsala, Nov.* 8. 1775." In this interval, Linnæus's correspondent became Professor of Philosophy at Abo, afterwards Bishop of that city, and lastly Archbishop, and Pro Chancellor of the University of Upsala. He appears to have been a very warm and affectionate friend, and to have assisted Linnæus on various occasions essentially affecting his interests.' Pref. p. x—xv.

It would greatly exceed our limits to dwell minutely on this curious document. As a register of dates and occurrences, it may form the basis of some future life of the author; but it abounds more in facts than in traits of genius or philosophical reflections; and, if we could fairly judge of the style through the medium of a literal translation, we should not hesitate to pronounce it singularly clumsy and repulsive. The principal events in the author's life are first marshalled in chronological array, and are then more circumstantially related. He next recapitulates his lucubrations and discoveries in medicine, botany, zoology, lithology, the characteristics of his person, the stations and honours to which he was raised, the numerous learned societies of which he was a member, the titles of his writings, the flattering testimonies of authors, and the names of his pupils. In every page, the writer is the unblushing herald of his own praise, till at length he becomes quite disgusting, and convinces us of the melancholy truth, that his vanity at least kept pace with his science. His admirers may no doubt remind us, that he only records simple truths; and, in most instances, only deduces from

them ſuch opinions as have been ſanctioned by the ſuffrage of the public. The ancients, it may likewiſe be ſaid, are authorities for this ſort of ſincerity. All this may be very true; but we feel that Cicero and Linnæus would have appeared with greater dignity if they had boaſted leſs of their own deſerts; and with regard to the latter in particular, we cannot help remarking, that the purſuits of the naturaliſt, which daily and hourly teach us how little we really know, and the inſignificance of individual exiſtence in the ſyſtem of things, are eminently calculated to inſpire us with humility.

In juſtice, however, to the celebrated Swede, it behoves us to remark, that he has not veiled the leſs brilliant parts of his ſubject, and that he ſtates the circumſtances of his poverty, and his ſuſceptibility of irritation, with the ſame plainneſs that he commemorates the moſt flattering inſtances of royal favour. Even his large head and carious teeth are duly entered on record; and we are not allowed to be ignorant, that he had an obliterated wart on the right cheek, and another on the right ſide of the noſe.

The occaſional blending of Latin phraſeology, or of learned and profeſſional alluſions, imparts a motley and pedantic aſpect to the whole production. The following particulars, however, are intereſting.

"Carl Linnæus was brought into the world between the hours of 12 and 1 in the night dividing the $\frac{1}{24}$d and $\frac{1}{24}$d of May 1707,—a delightful ſeaſon of the year, in the *Calendar of Flora*, being between the months of *frondeſcence* and *floreſcence*. His parents received their firſt born with joy, and devoted the greateſt attention to impreſſing on his mind the love of virtue, both in precept and example. The ſame thing that is ſaid of a poet, "*Naſcitur non fit*," may be ſaid without impropriety of our botaniſt. From the very time that he firſt left his cradle, he almoſt lived in his father's garden, which was planted with ſome of the rarer ſhrubs and flowers; and thus were kindled, before he was well out of his mother's arms, thoſe ſparks which ſhone ſo vividly all his lifetime, and latterly burſt into ſuch a flame. But his bent was firſt decidedly diſplayed on the following occaſion. He was ſcarcely four years old when he accompanied his father to a feaſt at *Möklen*, and in the evening, it being a very pleaſant ſeaſon of the year, the gueſts ſeated themſelves on ſome flowery turf, liſtening to the paſtor, who made various remarks on the names and properties of the plants, ſhowing them the roots of the *Succiſa*, *Tormentilla*, *Orchides*, &c. The child paid the moſt uninterrupted attention to all he ſaw and heard, and from that hour never ceaſed haraſſing his father with queſtions about the name, qualities, and nature of every plant he met with; indeed, he very often aſked more than his father was able to anſwer; but, like other children, he uſed immediately to forget what he had learned, and

eſpecially

eſpecially the *names* of plants. Hence the father was ſometimes put out of humour, and refuſed to anſwer him, unleſs he would promiſe to remember what was told him. Nor had this harſhneſs any bad effect, for he afterwards retained with eaſe whatever he heard. All the child's powers, both of mind and body, conſpired to make him an excellent natural hiſtorian;—beſides his retentiveneſs of memory, he had an aſtoniſhing quickneſs of ſight.' p. 512. 513.

When a ſtudent at the univerſity of Upſala, he informs us, that 'he was obliged to truſt to chance for a meal; and, in the article of dreſs, was driven to ſuch ſhifts that he was obliged, when his ſhoes required mending, to patch them with folded paper inſtead of ſending them to the cobler.'

Of his *Syſtema Naturæ*, he ſays it is 'a work to which natural hiſtory has never had a fellow.'—'In the year 1765, he worked at the 12th or laſt edition of the *Syſtema Naturæ*, and, the whole of the autumn, on the *Clavis Medicinæ*, which would have employed the moſt learned men for an age.'—'GENERA MORBORUM have not been ſo clearly defined by any one; there is not a ſingle word in them that is not uſeful; his work on this ſubject is an excellent compend for a *tyro*.'

Are our maſters of the healing art ſufficiently grateful to Carl Von Linné for the following luminous improvements and diſcoveries?

'PATHOLOGY, the foundation of the whole medical art, and of all medical theory, has been more improved by *Linnæus*, in his *Clavis Medicinæ* of eight pages (which is a maſterpiece in its way, and one of the greateſt treaſures in medicine), than by a hundred authors and books in folio.

'The *mechanical* phyſicians indeed had ſhown, that the action of the *Sapida* conſiſts in *relaxing* or *conſtringing*, according to the nature of their taſte; but neither the *ſpecies ſaporis*, nor their contraries, were explained,—much leſs the nature of the *Olida*. *Linné* was the firſt who ſaw that nature is balanced by contraries, and acted upon *numero quinario*. He ſaw that the Creator had given to animals two ſenſes, viz. taſte and ſmell.

'That the *Sapida* act only on the fluids and ſolids, or on the fibres.

'That the *Odora* act only on the brain and nerves.

'He found that *Vitia Corporea*, as well in the fluids as the ſolids, are only *five* in number.

'That the *Vitia Encephali*, vel *Syſtematis Nervoſi*, are likewiſe *five*, each with the ſame number of contraries.

'He likewiſe found that the *Sapida* and *Odora* are alſo *five*, with as many contraries; and that the right indication reſults from a compariſon of contraries with contraries. He proved this by examples. What can be ſtronger?'

This *quinteſſence* of recondite knowledge is too ſtrong, we are afraid, for the underſtanding of ordinary mortals; but 'the Lord was *with*' our knight of the polar ſtar 'whitherſoever *he* walked,'

and not only 'preserved him from fire, but led him with his own Almighty hand,' and 'permitted him to visit his secret council-chambers.' After this, we cannot wonder to find this illustrious person testifying of himself, that 'no person ever had a more solid knowledge of the three kingdoms of nature; so completely reformed a whole science, and created therein a new æra; became so celebrated all over the world; or sowed in any academical garden so many seeds!'

ART. XV. *An Account of a Journey in Africa, made in the Years 1801 & 1802, to the Residence of the Booshuana Nation, being the remotest Point in the Interior of Southern Africa, to which Europeans have hitherto penetrated. The Facts and Descriptions taken from a Manuscript Journal; with a Chart of the Route.* From Voyage to Cochin-China. By John Barrow Esq. F. R. S. London. Cadell. 1806.

IN reviewing Mr Barrow's second volume upon Africa, in our eighth Number, we met with an allusion to the expedition of Messrs Trutter & Somerville; and, from the specimen given of their journal, we were inclined to think that the public sustained a considerable injury by its being withheld from the press. Mr Barrow, into whose hands the papers of those travellers were delivered, has very laudably supplied this defect; and, though he has not published the journals entire, he has given so full an account of their contents, as leaves us no room for desiring to see any more of them. This abstract he inserts (one does not exactly see why) in a large volume lately published by him, on the subject of Cochin-China, which we reserve for a future article. As a supplement to the discoveries in Africa, which we have had occasion to notice since the commencement of our labours, we shall here give our readers some account of this tract. It furnishes but few occasions for discussion or remark; but some of the facts which it contains, and some inferences to which these give rise, are deserving of our best attention.

This journey was undertaken by Mr Trutter, a member of the Cape judicature, and Mr Somerville, the garrison-surgeon, by the orders of the Governor, in order to discover whether any of the Hottentot tribes in the interior had a sufficient stock of cattle to furnish a supply to the colony, rendered necessary in consequence of the sickness and drought of the preceding season. They were accompanied by a draughtsman, secretary, and several Dutch boors,

boors, making in all twelve Chriſtians, and were attended by twenty-four Hottentots and four ſlaves. They left the Cape in October 1801, and purſued a north-eaſterly direction, towards the country of the Bosjeſmans. Of theſe wretched people they now and then met a few ſtragglers, always in a ſtate of the utmoſt want, and begging a little ſupply of food to keep them from ſtarving. They appear to be altogether the moſt miſerable nation of which we have any account, not exceeded in penury even by the natives of Chili, whoſe ſufferings from hunger are ſo picturesquely deſcribed by Biron in his voyage. Through this unhappy tract of deſert the commiſſioners proceeded towards the Orange river. Their route was of courſe marked with but few incidents But travellers through the ſands of Africa uſually do like geographers; and, for want of towns, are obliged to introduce wild beaſts. Accordingly, our author breaks the dullneſs of his journey, by frequent anecdotes of the lions and elephants, who inhabit thoſe diſtricts, and of the adventures which the neighbouring coloniſts have at different times had with theſe fellow-occupants of the deſerts. From time to time, too, ſome Dutch ſettlers were ſeen, wandering as they often do from place to place, without any fixed habitation. The following deſcription of this claſs of coloniſts deſerves to be extracted.

'In the midſt of ſo extenſive and dreary a deſart, they' (the travellers) 'were not a little ſurpriſed, though by no means an unuſual thing, to meet with a Dutch boor of the name of Kok, who, with a waggon and his whole family, his ſlaves, his Hottentots, his cattle and his ſheep, was travelling leiſurely from the Orange river towards the ſkirts of the colony. The diſinclination of theſe people to eſtabliſh themſelves on a particular ſpot, and to live in any ſort of comfort, is very remarkable, and can only be explained on the principle of an irreſiſtible charm which unbounded liberty and unreſtrained poſſeſſion exert on the human mind, and which operates moſt powerfully on him who has never known the pleaſures of ſocial life. It is a well known fact, that numbers of the French officers in America, led by the impulſe of this principle, retired into the Indian ſettlements, threw aſide their clothing, painted and tatooed their bodies, and became, in every reſpect, ſavages of a much worſe deſcription than the natives, by uniting with their new condition all the vices of civilized life. To rove about the deſert wilds of Africa, to haraſs and deſtroy the harmleſs natives, to feaſt on game procured by their Hottentots, and to ſleep and loiter away the day while jolting in his waggon, are to the Dutch boor among the moſt exquiſite pleaſures he is capable of enjoying. By indolence and gluttony, from the effects of a good climate and free expoſure to air, theſe people uſually grow to a monſtrous ſize; and if ſuffered to continue their preſent uncontrouled mode of life, they may ultimately give birth to a race of Patagonians on the ſouthern extremity of Africa,

not inferior in ſtature to their tall brethren on the oppoſite coaſt of America. p. 369.

On arriving at the Orange river, which is exceedingly large for ſuch a courſe, being the union of two branches, each ſix hundred yards wide, the travellers found on the oppoſite bank the Kora country, tolerably well peopled by a race of Hottentots, happy and rich in compariſon with thoſe Bosjeſmans whom they had ſeen in croſſing the deſert. They had a ſtationary abode on the banks of the river, and were much leſs filthy than the reſt of their race nearer the Cape, having, from the abundance of water, as Mr Barrow conjectures, no occaſion to ſmear themſelves like the reſt of their countrymen in the deſert. Their features, too, were better; their activity and ingenuity greater. They lived entirely on the produce of their flocks, and on wild berries, &c. having no veſtiges of agriculture. The few metallic ornaments and utenſils which they poſſeſs, were borrowed from the Caffres.

In purſuing their journey through the Kora country, the Commiſſioners met with ſeveral miſſionaries, particularly Mr Edwards and his family, and Mr Kicherer, ſent out by the London Society. It does not appear, from the account of the miſſionaries themſelves, that their laudable zeal, and pious labours, are likely ſoon to gain an exceeding great reward. They are preaching the moſt abſtruſe myſteries of our holy religion, to tribes of ſavages who can ſcarcely count ten; and inculcating a care of their immortal ſouls, to miſerable creatures, who, with all their labour, can ſcarcely find ſubſiſtence for their bodies. The order of providence clearly recommends, that thoſe children of penury ſhould firſt get into eaſier circumſtances, and then be made converts to religious tenets. In this part of Africa, the knowledge of the Deity's exiſtence is either not to be met with, or, if found at all, is ſo obſcure, and ſo much disfigured by brutal ignorance, as not to be eaſily recognized. And theſe are the people whom our miſſionaries, at a great miſplaced expence, and with a moſt miſtaken zeal, are endeavouring to make Chriſtians; to perſuade of the ſublimeſt truths which the intellect of man can apprehend; to convince of the moſt refined doctrines, which the moſt enlightened underſtanding can receive. The account which theſe worthy men themſeves give of their flock, is, indeed, a melancholy picture of the miſapplication of their means and their zeal; and a convincing proof that, until the worldly comforts of the native Africans are ſomewhat extended, until their neceſſary wants, at leaſt, are in ſome degree ſupplied, he ſhall labour in vain who tends their ſpiritual concerns, and ſhall throw away good ſeed among ſtones, and in dry places. The wretched ſtate of manners and feelings, which

which the following paſſage deſcribes, is clearly the reſult of exceſſive poverty, and proves, that the perſon who plants a colony in theſe countries, or introduces, by ſome other means, the arts which are ſubſervient to common life, in its ſimpleſt forms, is the only miſſionary whoſe pains can ever be rewarded by the eventual converſion of the African tribes to the true religion.

"They take no great care of their children," ſays Mr Kicherer, "and never correct them, except in a fit of rage, when they almoſt kill them by ſevere uſage. In a quarrel between father and mother, or the ſeveral wives of a huſband, the defeated party wreaks his or her vengeance on the child of the conqueror, which in general loſes its life. The Boſjeſmans will kill their children without remorſe, on various occaſions, as when they are ill-ſhaped, when they are in want of food, when the father of a child has forſaken its mother, or when obliged to fly from the boors or others; in which caſe, they will ſtrangle them, ſmother them, caſt them away in the deſert, or bury them alive. There are inſtances of parents throwing their tender offspring to the hungry lion, who ſtands roaring before their cavern, refuſing to depart till ſome peace-offering be made to him. They alſo frequently forſake their aged relations, leaving the old perſon with a piece of meat, and an oſtrich egg-ſhell full of water: as ſoon as this little ſtock is exhauſted, the poor deſerted creature muſt periſh by hunger, or become the prey of wild beaſts. Many of theſe wild Hottentots live by plunder and murder, and are guilty of the moſt horrid and atrocious actions. Such," ſays he, "are the people, to whom the providence of God has directed our courſe." p. 378-9.

We ſhould really pity the ignorance and the bigotry of any perſon, who, on reading this affecting paſſage, might be diſpoſed to impute the wretched character here deſcribed, to any other cauſe than poverty and hardſhip, or to ſuggeſt, as a remedy, the introduction of a ſyſtem of faith, or indeed any plan, but one which ſhould tend to alleviate the phyſical wants of thoſe unhappy ſavages. We cannot refrain from extracting the following very judicious and ſenſible remarks of Mr Barrow, himſelf well acquainted with the ſubject from perſonal obſervation. They contain a further deſcription of the ſtock, upon whoſe ſpiritual welfare our miſſionary ſocieties are ſquandering their zeal, and laviſhing their funds: and they ſtrengthen, very ſignally, the preceding remarks upon theſe very pious and diſintereſted aſſociations.

'Setting aſide the ſheer nonſenſe of the lion roaring before the cavern, which the eaſy credulity of Mr Kicherer led him to believe as a fact, it is evident, on the face of the above ſtatement, that the chief, and perhaps the ſole, motive for deſtroying or abandoning the helpleſs and the deſtitute, the infants and the aged, is their extreme indigence.

Without any covering to protect his body from the viciſſitudes of the weather, without poſſeſſions or property of any kind, except his bow and his quiver of arrows, the Bosjeſman exiſts from day to day on what the fortune of the chaſe may throw within his reach, on a few bulbous roots which the barren ſoil ſcantily ſupplies, on the eggs of ants and the larvæ of locuſts; and, when theſe all fail, he is glad to have recourſe to toads, mice, ſnakes, and lizards. To ſatisfy the preſent craving of the ſtomach is his grand object; and this accompliſhed in its fulleſt extent, he ſeems to enjoy a ſhort-lived ſpecies of happineſs, which either ſhews itſelf in an exhilaration of ſpirits not unlike that which uſually attends the firſt ſtage of intoxication, or throws him into a profound ſleep. Among ſuch a people, it is not ſurprizing that infants and aged perſons ſhould be left to periſh. If the dread of pinching poverty, and the horrors of abſolute want, are ſufficient to urge the civilized Chineſe to the commiſſion of infanticide on their own offſpring, it is the leſs ſurprizing that a ſimilar, or a ſtill more hopeleſs condition, ſhould operate ſimilar effects on the ſavage Bosjeſman. Human nature is every where the ſame. When the Moravian miſſionaries firſt landed in Labrador, the ſame inhuman practice, though with the moſt benevolent intention, prevailed among the natives, of putting to death the widows and the orphans; not becauſe it was an ancient cuſtom, or that the ſhedding of human blood was agreeable to their nature, but for a much ſtronger reaſon: improvident of their own families, they could not be ſuppoſed to ſupply the means of ſupport for the helpleſs orphan, or the deſolate widow of another. And here the ſuperior advantages reſulting from the ſyſtem of the Moravians, over that of the Goſpel miſſionaries, are moſt forcibly demonſtrated. Inſtead of encouraging the natives in their rambling diſpoſition from place to place, they laboured to fix them to one ſpot; inſtead of preaching to them the myſterious parts of the goſpel, they inſtructed them in uſeful and induſtrious habits; inſtead of building a church, they erected a ſtorehouſe. They cauſed this common ſtore to be divided into as many compartments as there were families, leaving one at each end larger than the reſt to be appropriated ſolely to the uſe of the widows and the orphans; and having taught them the proceſs of ſalting and drying the fiſh caught in vaſt multitudes in the ſummer months, the produce was collected into this general depoſitory of their induſtry, to ſerve as a proviſion for the long and diſmal winter which reigns in this inclement climate; deducting, however, from the compartment of every family a tenth of the produce, to be depoſited in thoſe of the widows and orphans. Their labours were crowned with complete ſucceſs. From this time, a proviſion was made ſufficient for the preſervation of theſe deſolate and helpleſs creatures. Thus the Moravian Society has been the means of converting the inhabitants of Labrador into uſeful citizens, as well as good Chriſtians, whilſt the African Society has not reclaimed a ſingle Bosjeſman from the wild and ſavage ſtate in which its zealous miſſionaries firſt diſcovered him.' p. 379—381.

The

The example of the Moravians, here cited, is very aptly introduced. The labours of that excellent and ingenious ſect, are indeed deſerving of the higheſt praiſe. They have, more than any other proſelytizing inſtitution or diviſion of Chriſtians, united wiſdom with their pious earneſtneſs to convert the heathen. They have not been ſo much occupied with contemplating the greatneſs of their object, as to neglect the only rational means of attaining it. They have practiſed upon the ſouls of their pagan flocks, by improving their worldly condition, and have diſpenſed, along with their preaching, the improvements of the preſent life, without which men never will prepare for a life to come.

From the Kora country the travellers proceeded in a north-eaſterly direction to that of the Booſhuanas, or Bricquas, as ſome neighbouring tribes call them. The firſt thing which ſtruck them on entering this diſtrict, was the great fertility of the ſoil; its abundance in various uſeful vegetables, and in good ſprings of water; and the plenty of game which it contained. They arrived at Leetakoo the capital, where the King reſides, and were received by him with every token of hoſpitality and kindneſs. That city lies in latitude 26° 30′ ſouth, and longitude 27° eaſt; contains about 2500 houſes, and upwards of 12,000 inhabitants. The houſes are diſpoſed without regularity; each is built in a circular form, and ſurrounded with a paliſade; contains ſeveral apartments for the different branches of the family, who live ſeparately; and is thatched very well, and not inelegantly, with reeds. For the ſake of ſhade, the houſes are generally built under large mimoſas, the leaves and twigs of which are carefully protected from every injury. They live much on animal food, procured by hunting, on the milk of their cattle, and cultivate alſo a good deal of grain. In this work, the chief part, if not the whole, ſeems to devolve on the women. The men occupy themſelves in the chaſe, in preparing ſkins for clothing, and in the care of the dairy of the tame cattle. The degree of civilization to which this nation has attained, may beſt be eſtimated from the following account of their comforts and luxuries.

'But the *Booſhuanas* are arrived at that ſtage of civilization, which is not ſatisfied with the mere neceſſaries of life ſupplied to them abundantly from the three ſources of agriculture, grazing, and hunting; they are by no means inſenſible of its conveniences and its luxuries. Their ſkin cloaks for the winter are pliant, ſoft and warm, being frequently lined with the fur-ſkins of tyger-cats, *viverræ*, and other ſmall animals; and when in ſummer they go without clothing, they rarely expoſe their bodies to the rays of the ſun, but carry umbrellas made of the broad feathers of the oſtrich fixed to the end of a ſtick. They vary

vary their mode of dreſſing both animal food and grain; occaſionally boiling, broiling, or roaſting the former, and ſimply broiling the latter; or bruiſing it into flour, and boiling it up with milk. Among the luxuries of the appetite, tobacco ſeems to hold the higheſt eſtimation. Both men and women are paſſionately fond of drawing the ſmoke of this narcotic herb through water, poured uſually into the horn of the cow or the *eland*, through the ſide of which the tube of the tobacco-pipe is inſerted. Of ſnuff they are equally fond. This article is compoſed of a variety of ſtimulant plants, dried and rubbed into duſt, which is uſually mixed with wood aſhes; of this mixture they take a quantity in the palm of the hand, and draw it into the noſtrils through a quill or reed, till the tears trickle down their cheeks. Children even of four or five years of age may be obſerved taking ſnuff in this manner. Their bodies they carefully ornament with devices painted with white pipe-clay and red ochre; their hair they ſometimes cut in a peculiar manner, leaving a high tuft on the crown of the head, not unlike the faſhionable crops of the preſent day, to which is frequently appended the tail of a hare, or a diſtended bladder of this or ſome other ſmall animal; or the wings of the Numidian crane are fixed erect on each ſide of the head. A triangular plate of copper is almoſt invariably ſuſpended from one ear, and the teeth and the claws of lions and leopards are worn as necklaces. To theſe ſpoils of the chaſe, the men add rings of ivory, cut from the elephant's tuſk, round the upper part of the arm; and the women uſe thongs of leather, ſometimes plain, and ſometimes decorated with beads and bits of copper, round the legs and arms. Every man had a knife ſlung about the neck by a leather thong, and fitted into a ſcabbard. The blade is generally about ſix inches long, an inch broad, rounded at the end, and brought to an edge on each ſide; the handle ſometimes of wood, and ſometimes of ivory; in the latter caſe, it is uſually carved into the ſhape of the elephant's proboſcis. The party had with them a quantity of common knives intended for barter, but the *Booſhuanas* held them very cheap, obſerving that their own were at leaſt twice as good, becauſe they were made to cut with two edges, whereas thoſe of the white people only cut with one. The knife, in fact, is ſo uſeful an inſtrument to ſuch as live by the chaſe and on roots, that it may almoſt be conſidered as an article of the firſt neceſſity, and is valued accordingly. A *Booſhuana* is accounted wealthy according to the number of cattle, knives, and beads he may poſſeſs: theſe are the money and the currency of *Leetakoo*.—p. 395. 396.

The government is of a patriarchal kind, the chief or king ruling by his perſonal authority with the tribe. He names his ſucceſſor, and, on occaſions of moment, conſults the elders, who give him their own ſentiments, and communicate to him thoſe of the people. It appears that they have no ſyſtem of religious inſtitution, no form of public worſhip, and ſcarcely any notions of religion appear to have been traced among them. We are indeed told,

told, that they circumcise their male children, and dance in a circle the whole night of the new moon; and these practices are imputed to some religious motives, though we cannot discover for what reasons. Mr Barrow, in this interesting part of his abridgement, forsakes the subject; and, instead of telling us precisely what facts the commissioners' journal records, he gets into a declamation about thunder showers, good and evil spirits, Jupiter, &c. with his usual love of fine writing, and his usual inability to write well. All his sentences on this topic are of a vague, sermonizing species, and bear no reference to the matter in hand. Indeed, were we to give our author a general advice for his government, in the great number of books which he writes, it should be, to curb his soaring genius; to keep himself a little more common, on common occasions; to learn, that true sense is shewn by him who does ordinary things in an ordinary way: and we should moreover insinuate, that his own flights are not only misplaced, but clumsy.

It is impossible to contemplate the picture of high comparative civilization which these accounts present to us of the Boosluana nation, without remarking how important a confirmation is derived from it, to all the enlightened and benevolent views of our best statesmen, regarding the present condition and future improvement of Africa. As we approach the interior, it would appear, of that vast continent, and leave the spots most favourable to civilization and improvement, we gradually come among tribes more refined and happy than those who inhabit the maritime districts. In other countries, the sea-coast is the scene of cultivation and wealth; it is the region of manners, of sciences, of arts. In Africa alone, the coast lies under a curse; it is covered with darkness, and a prey to disorder and wretchedness. Commerce, the great refiner and improver of other nations, is known to the tribes of the African continent only as the consummation of all evil—the great engine of barbarism—the arch enemy of man. To see him in his natural state, you must seek the places least favourable to his existence; you must leave the coast of the sea, and the banks of rivers, and traverse sandy wastes, which the enterprize of commercial avarice has never passed. In those deserts, you find, at vast distances from the abodes of other nations, and protected, by the surrounding sands, from the noxious intercourse of Europeans, spots of country made fertile by the industry of Africans—'islands in the stormy waste,' inhabited by a people, innocent when we cannot reach them to corrupt their morals—and happy, at such a distance as protects them from our violence and craft. Let it never be forgotten, that whether you penetrate into those remote countries from the western or the southern coast; whether

whether you trace the negro or the Hottentot race through their various gradations, you conſtantly find both in the enjoyment of more felicity, and the practice of more virtue, in proportion as you recede from thoſe places where they are ſubjected to communication with the European coloniſts and traders, to the horrors of the ſlave trade, and the brutal oppreſſions of the Cape ſettlers. Theſe obſervations derive conſiderable illuſtration from the very judicious ſtatements of Mr Barrow on the ſubject, contained in the following paſſages, which we extract the more willingly, becauſe they do him much more credit for liberality than many of his general reflections are wont to do.

'To know that ſuch ſocieties exiſt in this miſerable quarter of the globe, as thoſe above deſcribed, muſt be peculiarly intereſting to thoſe who have long been exerting their eloquence and their influence to meliorate the condition of the ſuffering African. They furniſh a complete refutation of an opinion that has induſtriouſly been inculcated, and which unfortunately is but too prevalent, that ſlavery is his unalterable lot, and that it would ſtill exiſt, as it always had exiſted, were Europeans to diſcontinue their abominable traffic in theſe unhappy creatures. Such an opinion, in juſtification of a crime againſt humanity, is juſt on a level with that of a Dutch boor, who told Governor Janſen, on remonſtrating with him on his cruelty towards the Hottentots, that there could be no harm in maltreating thoſe heathens, as the women evidently carried about with them the mark which God ſet upon Cain. Not one of the tribes of natives between the Cape of Good Hope and the extreme point that has hitherto been diſcovered in the interior of Southern Africa—not a ſingle creature, from the needy and ſavage Bosjesman to the more civilized *Booſhuana*, has the moſt diſtant idea of a ſtate of ſlavery. On the contrary, they have all been found in the full enjoyment of unbounded freedom. There is no compulſion uſed among theſe people, to oblige an individual to remain even in the horde to which he belongs, contrary to his inclination; being always at liberty to depart with his property, and join another ſociety that may ſuit him better. Even in war, the only booty is the cattle of the enemy.

'How far to the northward the country continues to be inhabited by free Kaffer tribes, remains yet to be determined; but the extent, it is to be feared, is not very great. It appears that the Portugueze ſlave-merchants have at length effected a communication acroſs the continent, from Moſambique to their ſettlements of Congo and Loango on the oppoſite coaſt; from which it may be inferred, that the line of ſlavery extends at leaſt as far to the ſouthward as the twentieth degree on the eaſtern, and to the fifteenth or ſixteenth on the weſtern coaſt. It is probable, however, that, in the central parts of Southern Africa, the land of freedom may ſtretch much beyond the parallels where ſlavery prevails on the coaſt. The *Barreloos*, from the above account, cannot be placed to the ſouthward of the tropic of Capricorn; and it is not very probable that a nation having made ſuch progreſs as they are repreſented

repreſented to have done, ſhould border immediately on a nation of ſlaves. Thus, though Soffala, Moſambique, Quiloa, and Melinde, on the eaſtern coaſt, and Congo, Loango, Benguela, and Angola, on the weſtern, have long been doomed to all the evils and horrors of ſlavery, yet it is poſſible that the *Biri* and *Baroras* of the charts, in the heart of the continent, may be a continuation of the ſame free and happy people as the *Booſhuanas* and *Barroloos*, the former of whom extend eaſterly even to the bay of De la Goa, where the Portugueze have in vain endeavoured to introduce among them a traffic in ſlaves. Luckily for the Kaffer nation, neither the Portugueze on one ſide, nor the Cape boors on the other, have yet been able to convince them, that one ſet of men were created to be ſold like cattle for the pleaſure and the profit of another.' p. 405.–6.

After reſiding ſome time at Leetakoo the capital, the commiſſioners made a tour through ſeveral diſtricts of the Booſhuana country, and viſited a number of other towns. Every where they found the ſame orderly, innocent, and happy people. But it is very much to be lamented, that they ſuffered themſelves to be deterred from proceeding into the country of the Barroloos, lying to the north of the Booſhuanas. This they very imprudently, we had almoſt ſaid thoughtleſsly deſiſted from, in conſequence of certain repreſentations of the King of Leetakoo, who appears to have prevented their journey from motives of policy. Afterwards, when it was too late to return, they found that he had impoſed on their credulity, that the Barroloos were the beſt diſpoſed and moſt hoſpitable of all the African tribes,—much more numerous and civilized than the Booſhuanas,—more wealthy and ingenious. They were ſaid to have made no ſmall progreſs in the arts,—to have furnaces for ſmelting copper and iron,—to be ſkilful in carving ivory and hard woods,—to have one city ſo large that it was a day's journey to walk through it. The commiſſioners were very much to blame, when, within two day's march of ſo intereſting a country, they ſtopt ſhort on account of the King of the Booſhuanas telling them ſome ſtories, under circumſtances which, even to themſelves, muſt have given the whole a very ſuſpicious appearance (See p. 400.) Men who ſuffer themſelves ſo eaſily to be taken in or intimidated, are not made of the ſtuff of which travellers ſhould be moulded, who undertake to explore unknown countries. And Meſſrs Trutter and Somerville were the more culpable on this occaſion, that they not only were called upon to puſh as far as poſſible our knowledge of thoſe new tribes, but bore a commiſſion from the government to effect a certain purpoſe, ſubſervient to the public intereſt. Their imprudent conduct not only fruſtrated the juſt curioſity of their countrymen, but rendered nearly abortive the whole object of their expedition.

They

They returned nearly by the ſame route by which they had gone, and the narrative of their adventures does not merit further abridgement. It is interſperſed with incidents of a common deſcription, and only diverſified by the account of the adventures of Stephanos, a Poliſh refugee, who, after committing all ſorts of crimes, ſet up for a robber; which trade not thriving well in ſo poor a country, he exchanged it for that of a prophet; perſuaded the natives that he was the founder of a new religion, and then ſet up for a god at once, till the purſuit of the officers of juſtice forced him to fly and reſume his old and human vocation of a freebooter. The latter part of this work is, with the exception of this man's adventures, naturally dull; and Mr Barrow has thought fit to render it ſtill more ſo, by introducing a long digreſſion on the practice of *pithing* cattle, or killing them by piercing the ſpinal marrow. This he reprobates and refutes, by quoting long reports of experiments made in our naval victualling houſes; from all which he draws the following patriotic and ſentimental inference, that 'it is to be hoped that, while Britons have firmneſs of nerve to face an ox, and ſtrength of muſcle to graſp the pole-axe,' they will never ſlaughter their cattle by the new mode of *pithing*.

The travellers returned to the Cape ſafely about the middle of April, having been abſent on their painful and perilous expedition upwards of ſix months.

ART. XVI. *A brief Account of the Proceedings of the Committee appointed in the Year 1795 by the yearly Meeting of Friends of Penſylvania, New Jerſey, &c. for promoting the Improvement and gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives.* London. Phillips & Fardon. 1806.

THE Indians of North America, like almoſt all the ſavage tribes, among whom more civilized nations have ſettled, owe very few obligations to their European neighbours. After attacking them in open war, exterminating a great part of their race, attempting to enſlave the reſt, and, either by violence or by fraud, getting poſſeſſion of their lands, the new ſettlers have always multiplied ſo rapidly, and ſpread ſo regularly over the face of the American foreſts, that the natives, whoſe only ſubſiſtence was derived from the chaſe, have ſoon found their ſole occupation becoming more and more unproductive, as the encroachments of the Europeans advanced. While the diminution of their ſupplies was thus ſowing the ſeeds of decay, the leſſons which

which they learnt from their new neighbours, drunkenneſs, and other exceſſes, with ſeveral diſeaſes which they imported, tended to accelerate their utter extinction. It appeared, indeed, quite obvious, that if the Indians did not, by imitating the whites, learn new habits and occupations, their race, in a few years, would be completely deſtroyed.

From theſe conſiderations, a duty devolved upon the European ſettlers, which ſeveral bodies of men, in the United States, ſeem to have felt extremely urgent. They were called upon to contribute as much as lay in their power towards the alleviation of the ſufferings which their own increaſed proſperity was daily entailing upon the original and rightful proprietors of the country. They were called upon to prevent, if poſſible, the utter extinction of a race, which their own progreſs in wealth and in numbers, was conſtantly depriving of the means of ſubſiſtence. Accordingly, various plans were adopted with this view, ſometimes by the government, ſometimes by individuals, and public bodies. Penſions were granted to certain tribes, whoſe hunting had been deſtroyed by the clearing of the foreſts. Such a relief, unaccompanied by any change in their character and habits, was at beſt but temporary, and, in the end, rather did evil than good; for the ſame people who beſtowed the annuity, had taught the Indians to drink, and continued to ſupply them with ſpirituous liquors; the temptations of which, thoſe ſavages had not fortitude to reſiſt. Another means adopted, with ſomewhat more wiſdom, was the employment of Miſſionaries among them, for the purpoſe of converting and inſtructing them. But this plan was involved in one radical miſtake, and was alſo injudiciouſly purſued. The Indians had a religion of their own, to which, as the inheritance of their anceſtors, they were ſtrongly attached. The evils of their ſituation lay not in the errors of their faith, but of their practice. They might be converted to Chriſtianity, without leaving off the habits of the hunting ſtate; and it by no means followed, that their growth in grace muſt be attended with a proportionate improvement in the arts of common life. Yet the miſſionary ſcheme hinged entirely on religious points. Its object was to ſend a multitude of preachers among the Indians;—to preach them, not out of their ignorance and idleneſs, but out of their theological errors;—to convert them, not to the life of huſbandmen and ſhepherds, but to the knowledge of the life to come. Add to this, that the miſſionaries who could be found, in a country ſo little prone to any but commercial and agricultural labours as America, were neceſſarily zealots,—perſons of narrow views,—ignorant and ſuperſtitious, and ill tempered;—and, in the affairs of this world, idle.

idle. They had no ſucceſs at all. They preached the goſpel to men already ſatisfied with their ſpiritual condition, and only anxious for food and raiment;—they deſpiſed, and intolerantly cried down all the notions held ſacred by a people as prejudiced and bigotted as themſelves;—they recommended ſobriety as a religious duty, to men whoſe former faith did not prohibit the uſe of ſtrong liquors, and whoſe taſtes all pointed to bodily intoxication, as a greater bleſſing than the holy raptures of their new inſtructors. Thus the miſſionaries always quarrelled with their flocks, and made but few converts; nor, among theſe, produced any real improvement.

The inſtruction of the Indians in ſchools, among the Europeans ſettled at the great towns, was another method which was adopted with the ſame view, and with no better ſucceſs. After receiving in part the education, and in whole the vices, of civilized life, thoſe pupils returned to their naked and hunting brethren, from corruption the moſt profligate, and from neceſſity the moſt idle, members of the Indian community. They found a ſociety in the woods, to which they originally belonged by blood, but for the manners and purſuits of which they had been altogether incapacitated by education. We need go no further, to illuſtrate the abſurdity of this plan of inoculating the Indian tribes with civilization, than the remarks of a perſon in this predicament. He had been educated at Princetown; and, upon being aſked by an American commandant in the neighbourhood of his tribe, why his countrymen continued ſo perverſely addicted to a ſavage life, he replied, 'It is natural that we ſhould follow the footſteps of our forefathers; and when you white people undertake to divert us from this path, you teach us to eat, drink, dreſs, and write like yourſelves, and then turn us looſe, to beg, ſtarve, or ſeek our native foreſts, without alternative; and, outlawed from your ſociety, we curſe you for the feelings you have taught us, and reſort to exceſs, that we may forget them.'

Such having been the neceſſary conſequences of the feeble and ill-planned attempts, both of Government and other ſocieties, to civilize the Indians, we had begun to deſpair of ever ſeeing this laudable undertaking proſper. Men ſeemed reſolved (as appears from the foregoing ſtatement, which we have prefixed to the preſent article, as a proper introduction) to begin at the wrong end, and to neglect the only plain and ſimple method by which thoſe ſavage tribes ever can be reclaimed from their barbariſm, or made the partakers, and not the victims of the civilization that ſurrounds them. Happily our fears have proved groundleſs. The people called Quakers, a ſociety, in many reſpects, by far

far the moſt meritorious and amiable among our religious ſects, ſeems to have ſolved the problem; and, by a cloſe attention to the principles above ſketched out and alluded to in a former article, (*Barrow's Account of a Journey in Africa*) they appear to have laid a very ſolid foundation for the rapid civilization of thoſe unhappy natives. The little tract now before us, contains a plain, unvarniſhed detail of their benevolent and moſt judicious proceedings. It was printed originally in Philadelphia, and is now reprinted in London. We truſt it will meet with due attention, as it is, in fact, one of the moſt intereſting publications which has appeared of late years. We ſhall now preſent our readers with a ſhort account of what the Quakers have done. The ſcene of their operations was among the Indians of the Five Nations, who inhabit a tract of country about 300 miles north-weſt from Philadelphia; and of theſe nations, the experiments now to be deſcribed, were performed on the Oneidas and Senecas.

The Quakers appear to have proceeded upon the fundamental aſſumption, that the only means of civilizing thoſe tribes, and indeed of preſerving their exiſtence, muſt be ſought in a well planned attempt to reclaim them from the precarious and idle life of hunters. For this purpoſe, they conceived that the ſettlement of a few miſſionaries among them was abſolutely neceſſary. But the miſſionaries whom they choſe, were not preachers; they were artizans—carpenters, blackſmiths, and ploughmen. They likewiſe imagined that a very ſmall number of ſuch perſons, choſen for their quiet conduct and induſtrious regular habits, and ſent to ſettle among the Indians without parade or pomp, would do more good than the moſt ſplendid ſcheme of colonization, by means of the greateſt and wealthieſt body of ſettlers. Example was to be their great engine—and example, they well knew, works ſlowly, gradually, and quietly.

Proceeding upon theſe principles, they waved, for the preſent, every idea of converting the Indians to Chriſtianity. The remarks of the committee, to whoſe care we owe this publication, are peculiarly judicious and enlightened upon this point. 'It is probable,' they obſerve, 'that ſome readers may think every ſcheme of civilization defective, that does not immediately attempt to plant Chriſtianity. Of the infinite value of Chriſtianity, our Pennſylvanians are doubtleſs aware; but here, though they are not directly acting the part of miſſionaries, they are preaching religion by example; and are probably preparing the Indians, by more means than one, for the reception and acknowledgment of the goſpel.'

Their firſt ſtep was to addreſs circular letters to the different

tribes in 1796, accompanied by one from the executive government of the United States, expreſſive of its approbation. The letters merely contained an offer to inſtruct ſuch as ſhould apply to them, in huſbandry. The Oneidas were the only tribe that at firſt made the application; and accordingly three Quakers repaired to their country, and ſettled there. At firſt, the natives were quite averſe to labour of every kind; and the Quakers only cultivated their own ground, and worked a ſaw-mill for themſelves. By degrees their example had its effect, and the uſe of the ſaw-mill and griſt-mill became familiar to the tribe. In winter they opened a ſchool for the children; and in ſummer they found the Indians beginning to aſſiſt their wives in cultivating little pieces of ground—a labour which had formerly devolved entirely on the latter. The want of a blackſmith being very greatly felt, a Quaker of that profeſſion volunteered his ſervices to ſettle there; and his wife accompanied him, to inſtruct the Indian girls. A number of the young men were hired and boarded by the Quakers to aſſiſt them in working. The ſpirit of labour and taſte for huſbandry became more prevalent: the blackſmith's buſineſs was generally attended to: the women learnt to ſew and ſpin. Implements of huſbandry were judiciouſly and ſparingly diſtributed. The uſe of theſe was acquired; and, in 1799, the natives began to clear lands for themſelves, and ſow wheat.

Having proceeded thus far in reclaiming the tribe from the hunting ſtate, and its attendant miſery and idleneſs, an incident occurred, which diſplays, in a remarkable manner, the happy mixture of judgment with which the promoters of this admirable plan tempered their zeal. The whites of other ſects had not failed to ſpread abroad ſtories unfavourable to the ſcheme of the Quakers; and the Indians, naturally miſtruſtful, like all ſavages, began to entertain ſuſpicions that thoſe ſurmiſes were well-founded. They knew that the labours of the Quakers muſt have coſt money; and, as they never before ſaw any example of Europeans working for nothing, they ſuſpected that the new ſettlers had a deſign of making a permanent eſtabliſhment, and then laying claim to their lands. As ſoon as this notion came to the ears of the Quakers, they reſolved to withdraw inſtantly, and leave the natives in the natural courſe of improvement, to benefit by the civilization which they had already planted among them. After a reſidence of three years, therefore, they diſcloſed their intentions in a council of the nation; and they left the place, accompanied by the unanimous thanks and good wiſhes of thoſe rude tribes. A ſimilar inſtance of ſuſpicion afterwards occurred, and it was allayed with equal judgment. The Indians of another tribe having received many benefits from them, were afraid leſt repayment

repayment ſhould be demanded at ſome future time. A ſpeedy and frank explanation from men whoſe honeſty they never had even reaſon to doubt, at once allayed theſe apprehenſions.

The obſervation of what had been done among the Oneidas, induced the Senecas to ſend an invitation, requeſting a ſimilar aſſiſtance from the ſociety. Three Quakers immediately repaired thither: they were welcomed with great joy; and thanks were given by the nation to the Great Spirit for their ſafe arrival among them. Here, as in every other hunting tribe, the women and girls are left to the labour of rearing ſuch vegetables as their huſbandry affords, and in hewing timber for fuel. The chaſe, and amuſements of different ſorts, occupied the men and boys. The Quakers exhorted them conſtantly to give up ſuch practices; and never failed to ſet before them, in the ſtrongeſt light, the neceſſity both of general induſtry and temperance; a virtue almoſt unknown among the Indians at the commencement of the Quaker miſſions. The progreſs of improvement in the arts and comforts of life, uniformly kept pace with the diſuſe of ſpirituous liquors; and, among the ſpeeches and other communications of thanks from the chiefs of the tribe to the ſociety and its emiſſaries, never fail to mark the ſtate of morals, and eſpecially of ſobriety, among the natives. The ſketch of improvement given above, relative to the Oneidas, is alſo applicable to its hiſtory among the Senecas. But we ſhall be excuſed for extracting the following diſcourſe, delivered by the Quakers to thoſe Indians in a council. It is, in our apprehenſion, the very model of a right miſſionary ſermon. We ſhall alſo ſubjoin the anſwer of the chief.

"Brothers,

"It has afforded us ſatisfaction, in paſſing through your town, to notice marks of induſtry taking place; that you are building better and warmer houſes to live in; and that ſo much of your cleared land is planted with corn, beans, potatoes, &c.; and to ſee theſe articles kept in good order.

"Brothers, we obſerve, where your new houſes are building, that the timber is very much cut off a rich flat, which we wiſh you encouraged to clear and make fit for ploughing. We hope more of your men will aſſiſt in clearing and fencing land, and planting it with corn; alſo ſowing it with wheat; you will then have a ſupply of proviſion, more certain to depend upon than hunting.

"Brothers, we are pleaſed to ſee your ſtock of cattle increaſed. The rich bottoms on the river will be plenty for them to live on in the ſummer ſeaſon; but, as your winters are long and cold, it will require ſomething for them to live on in the winter. The white people keep their cattle on hay, on ſtraw, and on corn fodder. Straw you cannot get until you raiſe wheat or other grain; the rich bottoms, if put in

order, would produce a great deal of hay. But, for an immediate ſupply, we think, that, as ſoon as you gather the corn, if you would cut the ſtalks cloſe at the ground, bind them up in ſmall bundles, and put them in ſtacks, as our young men do, they would keep your cattle part of the cold weather.

" Brothers, we are pleaſed to ſee a quantity of fence made this ſummer, and we would not have you diſcouraged at the labour it takes; for, if you will clear a little more land every year, and fence it, you will ſoon get enough to raiſe what bread you want, as well as ſome for graſs, to make hay for your cattle in winter.

" Brothers, we underſtand you are deſirous to diſcourage whiſky from being brought among you, with which we are much pleaſed, and ſhould be glad you could entirely keep it away. To get it, you give your money with which you ſhould buy clothing, oxen," &c.

' The Indians were alſo informed that one of the young men, who had been there ſince the ſettlement was firſt formed (about ſixteen months), appeared moſt eaſy to leave them and return to his friends before winter. They hoped another would offer to ſupply his place.

' Cornplanter, on behalf of the nation, made a reply, in ſubſtance, as follows:

" That, when our young Friends firſt ſettled among them, many of his chiefs were averſe to it; but they had this ſummer ſeveral councils among themſelves reſpecting the young men; and all the chiefs ſeeing their good conduct and readineſs to aſſiſt Indians, were now well ſatiſfied. He hoped ſeveral of his young men would do more at farming than heretofore; and Friends muſt not be diſcouraged becauſe ſo little was done; but exerciſe patience towards them, as it was hard for them to make much change from their ancient cuſtoms. He regretted the loſs of the Friend who expected to leave them ſoon; he ſaid he had been uſeful to him in keeping whiſky, and other ſtrong liquor, out of the town; that they now drank much leſs than formerly; but feared, when the Friend was gone, he ſhould not keep it away ſo well as he had lately done." p. 18–21.

We add the following paſſage, as an intereſting account of the progreſs of a barbarous nation from rudeneſs, in one of the grand circumſtances which diſtinguiſhes the civilized from the barbarous ſtate of ſociety.

' In the ninth month of this year, * three of the committee viſited the ſettlement, being accompanied by a young Friend, a blackſmith, who went to inſtruct ſome of the Indians in that uſeful and neceſſary occupation. Two of the viſitors had been there before. The preceding ſpring, the Indians firſt began to uſe a plough; and the men performed the labour with a little inſtruction and aſſiſtance from Friends. They took a very cautious method of determining whether it was likely to be an advantageous change for them or not. Several parts of a very large

* September 1891.

large field were ploughed; and the intermediate ſpaces prepared by their women with the hoe, according to ancient cuſtom. It was all planted with corn; and the parts ploughed, beſides the great ſaving of labour, produced much the heavieſt crop; the ſtalks being more than a foot higher, and proportionably ſtouter, than thoſe on the hoed ground. The corn was now ripe and gathering in; and as their ſtock of cattle was much increaſed, inſtead of letting the ſtalks and leaves periſh on the ground as heretofore, they preſerved them for winter fodder. Several of them had mown graſs, and made ſmall ſtacks of hay; and they had made a fence about two miles long, which encloſes the lower town, and a large body of adjacent land fronting on the river; alſo ſeveral other fences within it, to ſeparate the corn ground from the paſture, &c.

'The cabins which they uſed to live in, were generally either gone to decay, or pulled down. Moſt of them had built good log houſes with ſhingled roofs, and ſome of them with ſtone chimneys.

'With the exception of houſes and fences, the improvements at Jeneſhadago did not bear a compariſon with the upper ſettlements, where the Indians live more ſcattered. Their thus ſettling ſeparate and detached from each other, was already manifeſtly more to their advantage than living together in villages. A chief, who is not aſhamed to be ſeen at work by the women of his own family, would probably be much mortified, were he diſcovered by a number of females, who, on ſuch occaſions, do not always refrain from ridicule. Yet this falſe ſhame on the part of the men, and ridicule of the women, is wearing away, in proportion as they become familiarized to each other's aſſiſtance in their little agricultural labours.

'Friends requeſted a council with the chief women of the Jeneſhadago town, which was readily granted, when they were favoured to make ſome communications pertinent to their ſituation. The women expreſſed their thankfulneſs to the Great Spirit for affording them this council; the words, they ſaid, had ſunk deep into their hearts, and they hoped would never be forgotten by them. Cornplanter and his brother Conedieu were preſent.

'The Indians were become very ſober, generally refraining from the uſe of ſtrong drink, both at home, and when abroad among the white people. One of them obſerved to our committee, "No more bark cabin, but good houſes; no more get drunk here now this two year." p. 24, 25, 26.

We ſhall only add one proof more of the progreſs which in-induſtry had made among theſe tribes by the laborious and judicious example of the Quakers. A ſingle tribe had formed a road of twenty-two miles in length; and a few families in one place had cleared and fenced ſixty acres of good land.

It is impoſſible to contemplate the ſignal ſucceſs which has attended theſe experiments, without remarking that it was owing in part to the character of the Quakers, as well as to the

wiſdom of the plans which they here adopted. The general reputation of that ſect for peacefulneſs and honeſty, and the quiet manners of thoſe whom they ſent to reſide among the Indians, could not fail to diſarm any repugnance of the ſavage natives towards ſtrangers, and to conciliate their confidence and eſteem. Even their taciturnity was favourable to the end in view. 'Your young men,' ſaid a chief in one of their councils, 'do not talk much to us; but when they do, they ſpeak what is good, and have been very helpful in keeping us from uſing ſpirituous liquors.' Their punctual performance of engagements, and the regularity of all their habits had the ſame good effects in gaining the reſpect of the Indians. 'Brothers,' ſaid they in a conference which had been held for the purpoſe of explaining ſome differences, 'Brothers, we are well ſatisfied with your conduct towards us. You have always done what you promiſed.' We ſubjoin the following anecdote as illuſtrative of the influence which the character of the ſect has had on the ſucceſs of their experience, and as intereſting in itſelf. 'In the evening, when Friends were ſitting with the chief warrior, he ſaid he wiſhed to aſk them a queſtion, but was almoſt afraid. They deſired him to ſpeak, and they would give him ſuch information as they were able. It was, Do the Quakers keep any ſlaves? He was told, They did not. He ſaid he was very glad to hear it; for if they had kept any, he could not think ſo well of them as he now did. That he had been at the city of Waſhington laſt winter on buſineſs of the nation, and found many white people kept blacks in ſlavery, and uſed them no better than horſes.'

From theſe cauſes, as well as from the admirable diſcretion and ſound ſenſe which directed the formation of their plans, this ſmall ſociety of Quakers have, at an expence inconceiveably trifling, ſecured the civilization of the Indian tribes, and laid the foundation of their entire converſion to the ſtate of peaceful and induſtrious huſbandmen, from that of wandering and turbulent and idle hunters. The miſſionaries left thoſe children of their care mutually ſatisfied with the progreſs and reſult of their labours. For the firſt time Europeans had reſided among them with no intereſted ends in view,—for the firſt time they had learnt no bad leſſon, and received no injury from their intercourſe with more poliſhed communities,—for the firſt time ſince the voyage of Columbus, a ſtranger and a friend became compatible appellations,—the natural antipathy to new faces vaniſhed in the courſe of further acquaintance,—and he who had been welcomed with diſtruſt, was only ſuffered to depart with tears. The Indian tribes view the departure of the Quaker miſſionaries as a national calamity, and are not afraid to conſult with their ſociety on all matters of general import.

ART.

ART. XVII. *A Complete Collection of Tables for Navigation and Nautical Aſtronomy: with ſimple, conciſe, and accurate Methods for all the Calculations uſeful at Sea; particularly for deducing the Longitude from Lunar Diſtances, and the Latitude from two Altitudes of the Sun, and the Interval of Time between the Obſervations.* By Joſeph de Mendoza Rios Eſq. F. R. S. London, printed by T. Benſley. 1805.

IN every long and complicated proceſs of arithmetical calculation, many ſteps neceſſarily occur that are common to it, and to an infinity of other proceſſes of the ſame kind. Theſe ſteps, of courſe, when performed in any one inſtance, may be of uſe in all others; the reſults, if preſerved, may very much abridge the labour of all ſimilar calculations that are afterwards to be made, and when properly extended and arranged in tables, may produce a ſaving of time and trouble which is almoſt incalculable, and which greatly reſembles the advantages gained by the diviſion of labour in the mechanical arts.

Thus, in the common operations of trigonometry, the ſines and tangents are numbers uſeful for all computations. Therefore, when once determined and arranged in tables, ſo as to be eaſily found out, they never require to be calculated again. By this obvious device, the work of trigonometry becomes very eaſy, which, if every ſine and tangent were to be computed from the beginning, whenever it is wanted, would be quite intolerable; and even if men had the patience, they would want time to carry on their reſearches to any conſiderable extent.

Hence, the exact ſeparation of thoſe parts of a calculus that muſt be performed for every new caſe which occurs, from thoſe that are the ſame in many caſes, and that admit of being computed once for all, is of great importance when we would ſave time and labour, and, above all, when we would render the difficult proceſſes of arithmetical calculation practicable to thoſe who are not much inſtructed in mathematical ſcience. For this laſt purpoſe, the uſe of tables, combined with the ſimplification of rules, has actually produced ſuch effects as the moſt ſanguine projector, half a century ago, would not have ventured to foretell.

To aſcertain the longitude of a ſhip at ſea by lunar obſervation, is a problem that has required the utmoſt efforts of genius to reſolve. The extent of the reaſonings, from the firſt axioms of geometry to the concluſion at laſt obtained, is of aſtoniſhing magnitude, embracing all the profounder inveſtigations of geometrical, arithmetical, and phyſical ſcience; yet ſo ſimple is the rule deduced from them, that in any given inſtance, the problem can

now be reſolved by any one who is tolerably verſed in the elementary operations of arithmetic.

For the purpoſe of reducing this and the other problems of nautical aſtronomy within the power of ordinary navigators, no work that we know of is better calculated than that which has juſt been announced. The collection of tables is ſo complete, that nothing ſeems wanting in it which the preſent ſtate of ſcience can ſupply. Beſides this, it has ſeveral advantages that appear to us to be peculiar, and which we therefore think it our duty to point out.

It is well known to calculators, that when numbers are to be taken out of tables, the computation of what are called the *proportional parts* conſtitutes the moſt troubleſome part of the work.

As the tables, of whatever ſort they are, cannot contain all the numbers that may be wanted, it becomes often neceſſary to *interpolate* a number between two that are contiguous in the table; and to be enabled to do this with eaſe, and at the ſame time with accuracy, is, in all ſuch calculations, a matter of the greateſt importance. When the interval between the contiguous *arguments* in the table is ſo ſmall, that the numbers correſponding vary at a pretty uniform rate, the interpolation is made by the rule of three, or by ſuppoſing the differences of the numbers to be proportional to the differences of the *arguments*. But even when the thing is reduced to this degree of ſimplicity, the conſtant recurrence of an operation which produces in the mind a diverſion from the main object of the calculus, becomes the moſt tireſome and embarraſſing part of the work. To avoid this as much as poſſible, the contiguous *arguments* muſt be made to differ very little, ſo that the correſponding numbers may differ very little alſo,—as by a few units in the laſt figure, or in the laſt but one,—ſo that the proportional part may be ſo ſmall, that, if it cannot be wholly neglected, it may yet be taken out at ſight, or eſtimated without any thing that can be called a calculation. The author of the work before us has been extremely attentive to this circumſtance; and his tables are ſo contrived, that the labour of computing proportional parts is in moſt caſes entirely avoided. Thus, in the table of ſines, &c. the ſine is given not merely to every minute of the ſemicircle, but to every quarter of a minute, ſo that the proportional part belonging to any intermediate number of ſeconds, (as the ſines are given only to five decimal places), is very eaſily obtained. This requires, however, that the table ſhould be larger than the common one, as in effect it contains four times as many numbers; and hence it is, that theſe nautical tables form a larger volume than any former collection. That inconvenience, however is much more than compenſated by the advantages which reſult from it.

The

The two great nautical problems, to the ſolution of which theſe tables are peculiarly directed, viz. finding the longitude from lunar obſervations, and finding the latitude from two altitudes of the ſun, and the time between the obſervations, are here reſolved by new and ſimple rules, that do great credit to the ingenuity and invention of the author. Theſe two problems, it muſt be obſerved, are rendered difficult, not merely by the abſtruſeneſs of the principles on which they depend, but from the peculiar circumſtances in which they muſt be reſolved, and the condition of thoſe to whom the practical ſolution muſt be entruſted. The methods of ſolution that are of practical utility, are thus limited by conſiderations not involved in the problem itſelf, to which it is nevertheleſs of the utmoſt importance to attend. Hence, the ſolutions of problems, which, theoretically ſpeaking, are not of the greateſt difficulty, may become extremely perplexing in practice, when the means or inſtruments of ſolution are already preſcribed, and a new condition by that means introduced. For example, as logarithms muſt always be uſed in trigonometrical calculation, a great number of trigonometric theorems, that lead to ſolutions very ſimple in themſelves, muſt be rejected, as not eaſily uſed when logarithms are to be the inſtruments of calculation. Accordingly, the inventor of logarithms ſoon perceived, that the known rules of ſpherical trigonometry, however good in themſelves, gave very complicated ſolutions when logarithmic calculation was employed; becauſe theorems to which they are eaſily applicable, muſt expreſs the value of the thing wanted in terms of quantities combined by multiplication and diviſion, but not by addition and ſubtraction. Lord Napier, therefore, ſet about inveſtigating ſuch properties of ſpherical triangles as might have this character; and, with that felicity which can only accompany original genius, he ſoon fell on the trigonometrical theorems that bear his name, and that have added ſo much to the value of his firſt diſcovery.

A difficulty ſomewhat ſimilar has embarraſſed mathematicians in the ſolution of the nautical problem, of clearing the obſerved diſtance of the moon from a fixt ſtar of the effects of parallax and refraction. This problem, of no great difficulty abſtractedly conſidered, has nevertheleſs exerciſed the genius of many of the firſt mathematicians for the laſt fifty years; becauſe, not only was a ſolution required that might eaſily adapt itſelf to logarithmic computation, but one alſo that might be practiſed readily, and without danger of error, by men little converſant with the ſciences of algebra or geometry. A queſtion of the nature of *maxima* and *minima*, thus aroſe, viz. *Out of the poſſible ſolutions of a problem, to find that which is beſt adapted to men who muſt*

muſt uſe certain inſtruments of calculation, and whoſe knowledge of the mathematics is confined within determinate, and often very narrow limits. In this adaptation of ſcientific diſcovery to the practice of art, nobody appears to us to have been more ſucceſsful than M. Mendoza, in the caſe of which we now ſpeak. His ſolution of the problem, with the aſſiſtance of his tables, appears to us to be ſimpler than any with which we are acquainted, and probably approaches very near to the utmoſt degree of conciſeneſs which, conſiſtently with accuracy, is poſſible to be attained. The demonſtration of the ſolution is not given in this volume, which is confined to matters purely practical; but we hope it will hereafter be communicated. We underſtand it to be grounded on a ſolution of the problem publiſhed ſeveral years ago by the author, in a memoir printed at Madrid, and afterwards in his *Recherches ſur les principaux Problemes de l'Aſtronomie Nautique*, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1797.

The other problem, of finding the latitude from two obſerved altitudes of the ſun, and the interval of time between the obſervations, though it does not refer to circumſtances that occur in navigation every day, yet it is a valuable reſource with which the navigator ought not to be unacquainted, if he would have the practice of his art to be as independent as poſſible on accidental circumſtances.

This problem, however, is in its nature not a little complicated, requiring the reſolution of no leſs than three ſpherical triangles, and two of theſe in the caſes where trigonometrical calculation is the moſt laborious. Various methods have been tried, and many different tables have been conſtructed for facilitating theſe computations, but hitherto with little ſucceſs; for the proceſs has remained much too intricate, and ſubdivided into two many caſes, to be of general uſe. The ſolution given here is by far the ſimpleſt that has appeared, and brings the problem within the power of any ordinary calculator. The firſt part of the paper in the tranſactions juſt quoted, contains the ſeveral formulæ from which the rules here given are deduced. The great ſimplification which Mr Mendoza has thus effected, will be made evident to any one, who ſhall compare the great complication of precepts and caſes in all the former ſolutions with the direct and eaſy proceſs which he has laid down. The errors to which the calculator is expoſed, when forced to attend to a great number of different circumſtances, and the diſcouraging length of the computation being both removed, it may now be hoped, that this important problem, which has hitherto been of ſo little uſe, will become general in every ſyſtem of navigation. The introduction of the verſed ſines has contributed much to ſimplify the ſolution of this problem, as well as of that already mentioned.

The

The tables and rules contained in this volume, from which ſo much practical advantage may be expected, are deduced, as we have already obſerved, in great meaſure from the author's treatiſe on *nautical aſtronomy*, contained in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, to which we would refer the mathematical reader. The firſt author, ſo far as we know, who treated profeſſedly on this ſubject, was M. de Maupertuis, who deduced the various ſolutions from the orthographic projection of the ſphere in a very ſimple manner; but his notation is not commodious; and the theorems, thoſe of them at leaſt that involve any conſiderable difficulty, are not reduced to the ſimplicity which practice requires. Some of the problems are reſolved by quadratic, and even by biquadratic equations.

Gregorio Fontana has treated the ſame ſubject with more ſucceſs. His notation is remarkably neat and convenient, and his theorems have great ſimplicity.

Mr Mendoza has treated the ſubject with that ſuperiority which might be expected from one who is not only a profound mathematician, but a ſkilful ſeaman, and who has both ſtudied navigation as a ſcience, and practiſed it as an art. He knew, of courſe, the problems that were of real practical utility, and was a judge of the degree of ſimplicity which a mathematical theorem muſt poſſeſs before it can be ſafely put into the hands of an ordinary navigator. Theſe circumſtances have rendered the treatiſe juſt mentioned of great value; and we earneſtly recommend the ſtudy of it to all who would acquire a thorough knowledge of nautical aſtronomy.

Among the recommendations of the work now under review, we muſt not neglect to mention its cheapneſs, the whole, though a quarto volume of 670 pages of arithmetical tables, printed with great neatneſs and accuracy, being ſold at the price of one guinea. This advantage, ſo ſingular at a time when even ordinary printing is exorbitantly dear, the book owes to the munificence of two public bodies, and to the diſintereſtedneſs of the author himſelf. Mr Mendoza tells us—

'The expences attending this work are ſuch, that had it been publiſhed in the uſual manner, the price of the book muſt have been ſo high as to confine its utility ſolely to that claſs of navigators who are in eaſy circumſtances; and which, unfortunately, is not the moſt numerous. But the Commiſſioners of Longitude have remedied this diſadvantage, by granting a ſum of money to reduce the price to the public; and I here preſent my moſt reſpectful thanks to them for this honourable teſtimony of their approbation of my labours.

'The Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company, whoſe liberality with regard to ſcience in general, and particularly that of navigation,

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is so well known, have also voted a sum of money to effect a further reduction in the price of this work, for which I likewise present to them my best acknowledgements.

'With this double assistance, and the additional sacrifice, on my part, of all views of profit, I have settled the sale of this edition on the moderate terms at which it is now published; and I shall esteem myself happy, if my endeavours to bring these tables before the public, in the most likely manner to prove useful, should contribute in any degree to improve and diffuse the practice of nautical astronomy.'

We are glad to add, that the success of the work has been such as might be expected from the union of its own merit with the established reputation of its author, and the patronage of so respectable a body as the Board of Longitude. The first edition, though a very large one, is said to be already nearly sold off, and a second, we hope, will soon extend the celebrity, and bring with it a pecuniary remuneration to the author.

ART. XVIII. *Epistles, Odes, and other Poems.* By Thomas Moore, Esq. 4to. pp. 350. London. 1806.

A SINGULAR sweetness and melody of versification,—smooth, copious, and familiar diction,—with some brilliancy of fancy, and some show of classical erudition, might have raised Mr Moore to an innocent distinction among the song-writers and occasional poets of his day; but he is indebted, we fear, for the celebrity he actually enjoys to accomplishments of a different description; and may boast, if the boast can please him, of being the most licentious of modern versifiers, and the most poetical of those who, in our times, have devoted their talents to the propagation of immorality. We regard his book, indeed, as a public nuisance; and would willingly trample it down by one short movement of contempt and indignation, had we not reason to apprehend, that it was abetted by patrons who are entitled to a more respectful remonstrance, and by admirers who may require a more extended exposition of their dangers.

There is nothing, it will be allowed, more indefensible than a cold-blooded attempt to corrupt the purity of an innocent heart; and we can scarcely conceive any being more truly despicable, than he who, without the apology of unruly passion or tumultuous desires, sits down to ransack the impure places of his memory for inflammatory images and expressions, and commits them laboriously to writing, for the purpose of insinuating pollution into the minds of unknown and unsuspecting readers.

This

This is almoſt a new crime among us. While France has to bluſh for ſo many tomes of 'Poeſies Erotiques,' we have little to anſwer for, but the coarſe indecencies of Rocheſter and Dryden; and theſe, though ſufficiently offenſive to delicacy and good taſte, can ſcarcely be regarded as dangerous. There is an antidote to the poiſon they contain, in the open and undiſguiſed profligacy with which it is preſented. If they are wicked, they have the honeſty at leaſt to profeſs wickedneſs. The mark of the beaſt is ſet viſibly on their foreheads; and though they have the boldneſs to recommend vice, they want the effrontery to make her paſs for virtue. In their groſſeſt immoralities, too, they ſcarcely ever ſeem to be perfectly in earneſt; and appear neither to wiſh nor to hope to make proſelytes. They indulge their own vein of groſs riot and debauchery; but they do not ſeek to corrupt the principles of their readers; and are contented to be reprobated as profligate, if they are admired at the ſame time for wit and originality.

The immorality of Mr Moore is infinitely more inſidious and malignant. It ſeems to be his aim to impoſe corruption upon his readers, by concealing it under the maſk of refinement; to reconcile them imperceptibly to the moſt vile and vulgar ſenſuality, by blending its language with that of exalted feeling and tender emotion; and to ſteal impurity into their hearts, by gently perverting the moſt ſimple and generous of their affections. In the execution of this unworthy taſk, he labours with a perſeverance at once ludicrous and deteſtable. He may be ſeen in every page running round the paltry circle of his ſeductions with incredible zeal and anxiety, and ſtimulating his jaded fancy for new images of impurity, with as much melancholy induſtry as ever outcaſt of the muſes hunted for epithets or metre.

It is needleſs, we hope, to go deep into the inquiry, why certain compoſitions have been reprobated as licentious, and their authors ranked among the worſt enemies of morality. The criterion by which their delinquency may be determined, is fortunately very obvious: no ſcene can be tolerated in deſcription, which could not be contemplated in reality, without a groſs violation of propriety: no expreſſion can be pardoned in poetry to which delicacy could not liſten in the proſe of real life.

No writer can trangreſs thoſe limits, and be held guiltleſs; but there are degrees of guiltineſs, and circumſtances of aggravation or apology, which ought not to be diſregarded. A poet of a luxuriant imagination may give too warm a colouring to the repreſentation of innocent endearments, or be betrayed into indelicacies in delineating the allurements of ſome fair ſeducer, while it is obviouſly his general intention to give attraction

attraction to the picture of virtue, and to put the reader on his guard againſt the aſſault of temptation. Mr Moore has no ſuch apology;—he takes care to intimate to us, in every page, that the raptures which he celebrates do not ſpring from the exceſſes of an innocent love, or the extravagance of a romantic attachment; but are the unhallowed fruits of cheap and vulgar proſtitution, the inſpiration of caſual amours, and the chorus of habitual debauchery. He is at pains to let the world know that he is ſtill fonder of roving, than of loving; and that all the Caras and the Famys, with whom he holds dalliance in theſe pages, have had each a long ſeries of preceding lovers, as highly favoured as their preſent poetical paramour: that they meet without any purpoſe of conſtancy, and do not think it neceſſary to grace their connexion with any profeſſions of eſteem or permanent attachment. The greater part of the book is filled with ſerious and elaborate deſcriptions of the ecſtacies of ſuch an intercourſe, and with paſſionate exhortations to ſnatch the joys, which are thus abundantly poured forth from 'the fertile fount of ſenſe.'

To us, indeed, the perpetual kiſſing, and twining, and panting of theſe amorous perſons, is rather ludicrous than ſeductive; and their eternal ſobbing and whining, raiſes no emotion in our boſoms, but thoſe of diſguſt and contempt. Even to younger men, we believe, the book will not be very dangerous: nor is it upon their account that we feel the indignation and alarm which we have already endeavoured to expreſs. The life and converſation of our ſex, we are afraid, is ſeldom ſo pure as to leave them much to learn from publications of this deſcription; and they commonly know enough of the reality, to be aware of the abſurd illuſions and exaggerations of ſuch poetical voluptuaries. In them, therefore, ſuch a compoſition can work neither corruption nor deception; and it will, in general, be deſpiſed and thrown aſide, as a tiſſue of ſickly and fantaſtical conceits, equally remote from truth and reſpectability. It is upon the other ſex, that we conceive its effects may be moſt pernicious; and it is chiefly as an inſult upon their delicacy, and an attack upon their purity, that we are diſpoſed to reſent its publication.

The reſerve in which women are educated; the natural vivacity of their imaginations; and the warmth of their ſenſibility, renders them peculiarly liable to be captivated by the appearance of violent emotions, and to be miſled by the affectation of tenderneſs or generoſity. They eaſily receive any impreſſion that is made under the apparent ſanction of t' eſe feelings; and allow themſelves to be ſeduced into any thing, which they can be perſuaded is dictated by diſintereſted attachment, and ſincere and exceſſive love. It is eaſy to perceive how dangerous it muſt

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be for ſuch beings to hang over the pages of a book, in which ſupernatural raptures, and tranſcendent paſſion, are counterfeited in every page; in which, images of voluptuouſneſs are artfully blended with expreſſions of refined ſentiment, and delicate emotion; and the groſſeſt ſenſuality, is exhibited in conjunction with the moſt gentle and generous affections. They who have not learned from experience, the impoſſibility of ſuch an union, are apt to be captivated by its alluring exterior. They are ſeduced by their own ignorance and ſenſibility; and become familiar with the dæmon, for the ſake of the radiant angel to whom he has been linked by the malignant artifice of the poet.

We have been induced to enter this ſtrong proteſt, and to expreſs ourſelves thus warmly againſt this and the former publications of this author, both from what we hear of the circulation which they have already obtained, and from our conviction that they are calculated, if not ſtrongly denounced to the public, to produce, at this moment, peculiar and irremediable miſchief. The ſtyle of compoſition, as we have already hinted, is almoſt new in this country: it is leſs offenſive than the old faſhion of obſcenity; and for theſe reaſons, perhaps, is leſs likely to excite the ſuſpicion of the moraliſt, or to become the object of precaution to thoſe who watch over the morals of the young and inexperienced. We certainly have known it a permitted ſtudy, where performances, infinitely leſs pernicious, were rigidly interdicted.

There can be no time in which the purity of the female character can fail to be of the firſt importance to every community; but it appears to us, that it requires at this moment to be more carefully watched over than at any other; and that the conſtitution of ſociety has arrived among us to a ſort of criſis, the iſſue of which may be powerfully influenced by our preſent neglect or ſolicitude. From the increaſing diffuſion of opulence, enlightened or polite ſociety is greatly enlarged, and neceſſarily becomes more promiſcuous and corruptible; and women are now beginning to receive a more extended education, to venture more freely and largely into the fields of literature, and to become more of intellectual and independent creatures, than they have yet been in theſe iſlands. In theſe circumſtances, it ſeems to be of incalculable importance, that no attaint ſhould be given to the delicacy and purity of their expanding minds; that their increaſing knowledge ſhould be of good chiefly, and not of evil; that they ſhould not conſider modeſty as one of the prejudices from which they are now to be emancipated; nor found any part of their new influence upon the licentiouſneſs of which Mr Moore invites them to be partakers. The character and the morality of women exerciſes already a mighty influence upon the happineſs and the reſpectability

ſpectability of the nation; and it is deſtined, we believe, to exerciſe a ſtill higher one: but if they ſhould ever ceaſe to be the pure, the delicate, and timid creatures that they now are—if they ſhould ceaſe to overawe profligacy, and to win and to ſhame men into decency, fidelity, and love of unſullied virtue—it is eaſy to ſee that this influence, which has hitherto been exerted to ſtrengthen and refine our ſociety, will operate entirely to its corruption and debaſement; that domeſtic happineſs and private honour will be extinguiſhed, and public ſpirit and national induſtry moſt probably annihilated along with them.

There is one other conſideration which has helped to excite our apprehenſion on occaſion of this particular performance. Many of the pieces are dedicated to perſons of the firſt conſideration in the country, both for rank and accompliſhments; and the author appears to conſider the greater part of them as his intimate friends, and undoubted patrons and admirers. Now, this we will confeſs is to us a very alarming conſideration. By theſe channels, the book will eaſily paſs into circulation in thoſe claſſes of ſociety, which it is of moſt conſequence to keep free of contamination; and from which its reputation and its influence will deſcend with the greateſt effect to the great body of the community. In this reading and opulent country, there are no faſhions which diffuſe themſelves ſo faſt, as thoſe of literature and immorality: there is no palpable boundary between the *nobleſſe* and the *bourgeoiſie*, as in old France, by which the corruption and intelligence of the former can be prevented from ſpreading to the latter. All the parts of the maſs, act and react upon each other with a powerful and unintermitted agency; and if the head be once infected, the corruption will ſpread irreſiſtibly through the whole body. It is doubly neceſſary, therefore, to put the law in force againſt this delinquent, ſince he has not only indicated a diſpoſition to do miſchief, but ſeems unfortunately to have found an opportunity.

In ſome of theſe obſervations, we are afraid that our faſhionable readers may detect the extreme rigour of our Calviniſtic education, and think that we have treated this libertine bard with unneceſſary ſeverity. To ſuch perſons, we beg leave to recommend the following lines of an old Engliſh poet, in which the iniquities of Mr Moore's compoſitions are deſcribed, we think, in prophetic language; and a ſentence is paſſed upon them not much lighter than that which we wiſh the public to ratify.

'Thereto he could fine loving verſes frame,
And play the Poet oft. But, ah! for ſhame!
Let not ſweet poets praiſe, whoſe only pride
Is virtue to advance and vice deride,

Be with the work of Lofel's wit defamed;
Ne let ſuch verſes poetry be named.
Yet he the name on him would raſhly take,
Maugre the ſacred Muſes, and it make
A ſervant to the vile affection
Of ſuch as he depended moſt upon,
And with the fugry ſweet thereof allure
Chaſte ladies ears to fantaſies impure.
To ſuch delights the Noble Wits he led,
Which him relieved, and their vain humours fed
With fruitleſs follies and unſound delights.'

Spenſer's Mother Hubbard's Tale.

On looking back to the volume, with a view to eſtimate its poetical merits impartially, as ſeparated from its ſins of morality, we were ſurpriſed to find how little praiſe it could lay claim to; and are more and more convinced, that its popularity is owing almoſt entirely to the ſeduction of the ſubjects on which it is employed. We ſhall not ſtain our page with any of the paſſages to which our preceding cenſures are intended to apply; but the following may ſerve as a ſpecimen of Mr Moore's talent for witty and familiar poetry.

'When next you ſee the black-ey'd CATY,
The loving, languid girl of Hayti,
Whoſe finger ſo expertly plays
Amid the ribbon's ſilken maze,
Juſt like Aurora, when ſhe ties
A rainbow round the morning ſkies!
Say, that I hope, when winter's o'er,
On Norfolk's bank again to rove,
And then, ſhall ſearch the ribbon-ſtore
For ſome of CATY's ſofteſt *love*.

I ſhould not like the gloſs were paſt,
Yet want it not entirely new;
But bright and ſtrong enough to laſt
About—ſuppoſe a week or two.
However frail, however light,
'Twill do, at leaſt, to wear at night:
And ſo you'll tell our black-ey'd CATY,
The loving, languid girl of Hayti!' p. 64. 65.

If the reader ſhould want a ſpecimen of his more elaborate and lofty gallantry, he may take the following; which appears to us to be rather a ſplendid example of that figure of ſpeech which is commonly called nonſenſe.

'I pray thee, on thoſe lips of thine
To wear this roſy leaf for me,

And breathe of ſomething not divine,
Since nothing human breathes of thee!

All other charms of thine I meet
In nature, but thy ſigh alone;
Then take, oh! take, though not ſo ſweet,
The breath of roſes for thine own!

So, while I walk the flowery grove,
The bud that gives, through morning dew,
The luſtre of the lips I love,
May ſeem to give their perfume too!' p. 99.

In the ſame taſte is the following magnificent ſtanza on a lady holding a child in her arms.

'Soft as ſhe ſmil'd, he ſmil'd again;
They ſeem'd ſo kindred in their charms
That one might think, the babe had then
Juſt budded in her blooming arms!
He look'd like ſomething form'd of air,
Which ſhe had utter'd in a ſigh;
Like ſome young ſpirit, reſting there,
That late had wander'd from her eye!' p. 101.

The tawdry, affected, and finical ſtyle of this author, cannot be better illuſtrated than in thoſe verſes about ſomething which he calls the Snow-Spirit.

'The down from his wing is as white, as the pearl
Thy lips for their cabinet ſtole,
And it falls on the green earth as melting, my girl,
As a murmur of thine on the ſoul!

Oh! fly to the clime, where he pillows the death,
As he cradles the birth of the year;
Bright are your bowers and balmy their breath,
But the Snow-Spirit cannot come here!' p. 102, 103.

This is in the right millinery taſte; but it is ſurpaſſed by what follows.

'But fly to his region—lay open thy zone,
And he'll weep all his brilliancy dim,
To think that a boſom, as white as his own,
Should not melt in the day-beam like him!' p. 103.

Mr Moore, however, has not always confined himſelf to thoſe familiar and gallant lucubrations: he has favoured his readers with ſeveral fine ſpecimens of ſublimity, and made a ſplendid diſplay of his erudition, in a variety of mythological hymns and epiſtles. The moſt ſuperb, perhaps, is a dithyrambic on the fall of Hebe, which has the merit of being almoſt entirely unintelligible; our readers may try their penetration upon the following paſſages.

'And

'And now ſhe rais'd her roſy mouth to ſip
The nectar'd wave
Lyæus gave,
And from her eyelids, gently clos'd,
Shed a diſſolving gleam,
Which fell, like ſun-dew, in the bowl!
While her bright hair, in mazy flow
Of gold, deſcending
Along her cheek's luxurious glow,
Wav'd o'er the goblet's ſide,
And was reflected by its cryſtal tide,
Like a ſweet crocus flower,
Whoſe ſunny leaves, at evening hour,
With roſes of Cyrene blending,
Hang o'er the mirror of a ſilver ſtream!

The Olympian cup
Burn'd in the hands
Of dimpled Hebe, as ſhe wing'd her feet
Up
The empyreal mount,
To drain the ſoul-drops at their ſtellar fount;
And ſtill,
As the reſplendent rill
Flam'd o'er the goblet with a mantling heat,
Her graceful care
Would cool its heavenly fire
In gelid waves of ſnowy-feather'd air,
Such as the children of the pole reſpire,
In thoſe enchanted lands,
Where life is all a ſpring, and north winds never blow!
But oh!
Sweet Hebe, what a tear,
And what a bluſh were thine,
When, as the breath of every Grace,' &c. p. 222–4.

Thoſe who can interpret this, have ſome chance of underſtanding the following—

'Welcome, my ſhell!
How many a ſtar has ceas'd to burn,
How many a tear has Saturn's gleaming urn
O'er the cold boſom of the ocean wept,
Since thy aerial ſpell
Hath in the waters ſlept!
Mortal! I fly,
With the bright treaſure to my choral ſky,
Where ſhe, who wak'd its early ſwell,
The ſyren, with a foot of fire,
Walks o'er the great ſtring of my Orphic Lyre,

Or guides around the burning pole
The winged chariot of ſome bliſsful ſoul!
While thou!
Oh ſon of earth! what dreams ſhall riſe for thee!
Beneath Hiſpania's ſun,
Thou'lt ſee a ſtreamlet run,
Which I have warm'd with dews of melody.' p. 50, 51.

There are ſome very fine lines, ſuch as—

'Where matter *darkles*, or where ſpirit beams.'—
'Blaſt thee with the lightning bug.'

and

'Fiery fever's thirſty thrill,
Fitful ague's ſhivering chill!'

But we prefer the artleſs innocence of the following namby-pamby—

'Then my playful hand I ſteep
Where the gold-thread loves to creep,
Cull from thence a tangled wreath,
Words of magic round it breathe,
And the ſunny chaplet ſpread
O'er the ſleeping fly-bird's head,
Till, with dreams of honey bleſt,
Haunted in his downy neſt
By the garden's faireſt ſpells,
Dewy buds and fragrant bells,
Fancy all his ſoul embowers
In the fly-bird's heaven of flowers!' p. 314.

The pieces which approach the neareſt to common ſenſe, are thoſe which are conceived in the form of Epiſtles to the friends of the author. They are written in the ordinary heroic meaſure, and, along with the characteriſtic tawdrineſs of his uſual ſtyle, diſplay occaſional point and vivacity, that, under a ſeverer training, might entitle the author to the attention of the public. We give the beginning of the epiſtle to Dr Hume, as a very favourable ſpecimen.

'Tis evening now; the heats and cares of day
In twilight dews are calmly wept away.
The lover now, beneath the weſtern ſtar,
Sighs through the medium of his ſweet ſegar,
And fills the ears of ſome conſenting ſhe
With puffs and vows, with ſmoke and conſtancy!
The weary ſtateſman for repoſe hath fled
From halls of council to his negro's ſhed,
Where bleſt he woos ſome black Aſpaſia's grace,
And dreams of freedom in his ſlave's embrace!
In fancy now, beneath the twilight gloom,
Come, let me lead thee o'er this modern Rome,

Where

Where tribunes rule, where duſky Davi bow,
And what was Gooſe-Creek once, is Tiber now!
This fam'd metropolis, where Fancy ſees
Squares in moraſſes, obeliſks in trees;
Which travelling fools and gazetteers adorn
With ſhrines unbuilt, and heroes yet unborn,
Though nought but wood and ********* they ſee,
Where ſtreets ſhould run and ſages *ought* to be!' p. 209–10.

The following is an abſtract of the author's ſevere judgment on the Americans.

'Mind, mind alone, in barren, ſtill repoſe,
Nor blooms, nor riſes, nor expands, nor flows!
Take chriſtians, mohawks, democrats and all,
From the rude wig-wam to the congreſs-hall;
From man the ſavage, whether ſlav'd or free,
To man the civiliz'd, leſs tame than he!
'Tis one dull chaos, one unfertile ſtrife
Betwixt half-poliſh'd and half-barbarous life;
Where every ill the ancient world can brew
Is mix'd with every groſſneſs of the new;
Where all corrupts, though little can entice,
And nothing's known of luxury, but its vice!' p. 267.

Whatever may be thought of the poetry or the politics of theſe paſſages, they are at leaſt innocent in point of morality. But they bear but a ſmall proportion to the objectionable contents of the volume, and cannot be allowed to atone for the demerits of a publication which we would wiſh to ſee conſigned to univerſal reprobation.

ART. XIX. *Simple Tales: By Mrs Opie.* In Four Volumes. 12mo. London. 1806.

WE owe ſome apology to Mrs Opie, for omitting at the proper time to take notice of her beautiful ſtory of the Mother and Daughter; the ſecond volume of which is perhaps the moſt pathetic, and the moſt natural in its pathos, of any fictitious narrative in the language. In the tales now before us, we find much of the ſame merits; the ſame truth and delicacy of ſentiment; the ſame graceful ſimplicity in the dialogue parts of the work; and the ſame happy art of preſenting ordinary feelings and occurrences in a manner that irreſiſtibly commands our ſympathy and affection.

Mrs Opie has no great ſhare of invention, either in incident or in character. We often ſee through the whole ſtory from its firſt opening; and few of her perſonages can be ſaid to be ori-

ginal, or even uncommon, when compared either with the inventions of dramatiſts, or the variety of common life. They have a merit, however, which in our eyes is incomparably ſuperior; they are ſtrictly true to general nature, and are rarely exhibited, except in intereſting ſituations. We have always been of opinion, indeed, that no character can be natural, unleſs it be pretty common; and that that originality, of which ſo many writers are ambitious, is of value chiefly in bringing out the effect of ludicrous and violently comical repreſentations. For more ſerious ſympathy we muſt be made to feel that the ſentiments and actions of the characters are ſuch, as muſt inevitably belong to all perſons in their ſituation; and it is on the delicate adaptation of their language and conduct to their circumſtances, and not to any ſuppoſed peculiarity in their character, that the ſucceſs of the writer will generally depend. It will be found accordingly, we believe, that almoſt all the fine traits of natural expreſſion that are quoted and remembered, from the dramatiſts and greater poets, both ancient and modern, derive their whole beauty from this perfect and beautiful conformity to general and univerſal nature; and that they reach the heart of every reader, juſt becauſe every reader perceives at once that they expreſs the concentrated and appropriate emotion, which it is natural for perſons in ſuch circumſtances to feel. There is no need for the repreſentation of ideal individuality. The general conception of a delicate and affectionate girl—of a gallant and warm-hearted young man—of a tender mother, a patriotic warrior, or an anxious lover—are quite ſufficient to call forth our ſympathies, and to make us feel, in its whole force and extent, the truth of the ſentiments imputed to them. The taſk and the triumph of the fabuliſt is in ſelecting ſituations that give riſe to the moſt powerful and commanding of thoſe ſentiments, and in expreſſing them with ſimplicity and directneſs.

Theſe obſervations might be illuſtrated, we conceive, in a very ſtriking way, by an examination of the moſt impreſſive paſſages and characters in the works of Shakeſpeare; nor would it be difficult perhaps to ſhow, that what have often been quoted as examples of originality in the conception of character, are nothing more than the exquiſite adaptation of common and familiar feelings to peculiar ſituations. It is impoſſible for us, however, to enter into ſuch an inveſtigation at preſent. We ſhall merely deſire our readers to conſider how little ſubſtantial diverſity of character there is among the female perſons of this great writer; and whether it is to any thing, but to the difference of their ſituation, that we can refer the variety of emotion which we receive from the natural expreſſions of Deſdemona, Imogen, Juliet, Ophelia, and Miranda.

There

There is ſomething delightfully feminine in all Mrs Opie's writings; an apparent artleſſneſs in the compoſition of her narrative, and ſomething which looks like want of ſkill or of practice in writing for the public, that gives a powerful effect to the occaſional beauties and ſucceſſes of her genius. There is nothing like an ambitious or even a ſuſtained tone in her ſtories; we often think ſhe is going to be tedious or ſilly; and immediately, without effort or apparent conſciouſneſs of improvement, ſhe ſlides into ſome graceful and intereſting dialogue, or charms us with ſome fine and delicate analyſis of the ſubtler feelings, which would have done honour to the genius of Marivaux. She does not reaſon well; but ſhe has, like moſt accompliſhed women, the talent of perceiving truth, without the proceſs of reaſoning, and of bringing it out with the facility and the effect of an obvious and natural ſentiment. Her language is often inaccurate, but it is almoſt always graceful and harmonious. She can do nothing well that requires to be done with formality; and, therefore, has not ſucceeded in copying either the concentrated force of weighty and deliberate reaſon, or the ſevere and ſolemn dignity of majeſtic virtue. To make amends, however, ſhe repreſents admirably every thing that is amiable, generous, and gentle.

Theſe tales are of very unequal merit; and we do not propoſe to give any detailed account of them. Thoſe in the third volume, we think, are clearly the beſt. The Soldier's Return, and the Brother and Siſter, though the ſcene is laid, in both, in humble life, and the incidents by no means new either in real or fictitious ſtory, are pathetic to a painful and diſtreſſing degree. The latter in particular is written with great delicacy and beauty. We regret that our limits will not permit us to give ſome part of it to our readers. We can only make room for the laſt words of the unfortunate heroine, with one ſentence of neceſſary explanation. Ellen Percival, the beautiful daughter of an Engliſh farmer, is ſeduced by a French nobleman who had lodged in her father's houſe during a period of illneſs. After his deſertion of her, and his return to his own country, ſhe is driven by ſhame and temporary diſtraction to deſtroy, at the moment of its birth, the fruit of their unlawful connexion. She is condemned to die; and, on the eve of her execution, writes this letter to the author of all her agonies. We are ſenſible that it will loſe much of its effect when read without any farther knowledge of the tender and ſimple character of the writer; but it is impoſſible to read it, we believe, without being ſtruck with the tone of natural and gentle feeling which it expreſſes ſo admirably.

"From the condemned cell, in S——— jail, and on the eve of my execution.

"Yes; it is even ſo! That Ellen, whom you once *ſeemed* to love,

(for I find from your letter to the Count that you never *really* loved me), that fond, fooliſh Ellen, who loved you even more than her own ſoul, will to-morrow morning periſh on a ſcaffold! O, thou whom I have loved ſo fatally, think of me as I was when you firſt knew me, and think of me now! But do not think that I mean to reproach you:—You did not intend to deſtroy me! No; you only intended to ſeduce me:—but is there ſuch a thing as a ſingle crime! Does not one crime inevitably lead to another!

"How ſhocked I was when I found that there would be an evidence of my guilt! My firſt impulſe was to deſtroy myſelf:—but then I recollected how that would grieve you—(poor credulous fool!)—for my mother told me how much you cried and bewailed when you ſaw me ill in bed, and feared that I ſhould die. I therefore reſolved to live, not from fear of God, but from love of you! And then I thought that it would be ſweet to live for the ſake of *your child*. and what pleaſure it would give me to preſent it to your arms one day, and ſee you ſmile on it; for methought you would love me the more for its ſake; and that dear hope ſupported me through ſuch ſufferings! But at length came the Count and your letter: I found that we were never to meet again: I found that you were married, and to a woman whom you paſſionately loved, and who had alone taught you to love; and you would have been the happieſt of the happy but for thinking of *poor* Ellen Percival. Yes; from the ſeeming object of your love I was become the object of your pity only; and then you hoped by your money to make me amends for the loſs of your affection! Oh! what a pang the offer of that money gave me! But the Count can tell you how I ſpurned your gift. I dare not even think again of the horror of that moment. He left me to commune with my own ſad thoughts; and all was diſappointment and deſperation.

"The child, for whoſe ſake, and for the ſake of my poor parents' peace, I had conſented to live, would, I found, be never ſeen by its father, nor even owned by him when it came into exiſtence; and all the dreams of my fond fancy were vaniſhed for ever, while its birth would doom me to endleſs diſgrace, and probably deſtroy both my parents! On theſe thoughts I dwelt, till deeds of death were dear and familiar to me. I cannot go on:—for, oh, my murdered babe, am I not writing to thy father! Yet mark me, mark me, Fontanges; I was mad, indeed I was, or I could not have been ſo barbarous. But this defence I make only to thee, and to the God who reads my heart. It ſufficed not before the judgement-ſeat of men: there I was condemned to death, and to-morrow I ſhall be executed!

"But I had forgotten:—My father, that good old man who was ſo kind to you, heard the tale of my guilt—ſhuddered—and died.

"Morning is already dawning! Now, then, I muſt bid you farewell, conjuring you to drop a few tears over the ſtory of my woes, and then endeavour to remember me no more. Truſt me that I forgive you from my ſoul for all the grief which you have occaſioned me; and that

that my dying prayer will be, that you may be as happy in *your* love as I have been unfortunate in *mine*. But I don't think any body can love you better than your *poor*

"ELLEN PERCIVAL." (III. 218–22.)

The ſtory of 'the Orphan' is pretty, and very intereſting. It contains the following verſes, ſuppoſed to be written by a gentle and timid young woman, pining under the oppreſſion of a romantic and concealed paſſion for a man who entertained no ſuſpicion of her attachment. We think they have great tenderneſs and beauty.

'Not one kind look—one friendly word!
Wilt thou in chilling ſilence ſit;
Nor through the ſocial hour afford
One cheering ſmile, or beam of wit?

Yet ſtill, abſorb'd in ſtudious care,
Neglect to waſte one look on me;
For then my happy eyes may dare
To gaze and dwell uncheck'd on thee.

And ſtill in ſilence ſit, nor deign
One gentle precious word to ſay;
For ſilent I may then remain,
Nor let my voice my ſoul betray.

This falt'ring voice, theſe conſcious eyes,
My throbbing heart too plainly ſpeak:
There timid hopeleſs paſſion lies,
And bids it *ſilence* keep, and *break*.'

'To me how dear this twilight hour,
Cheer'd by the faggot's varying blaze!
If this be mine, I aſk no more
On morn's refulgent light to gaze:

For now, while on HIS glowing cheek
I ſee the fire's red radiance fall,
The darkeſt ſeat I ſoftly ſeek,
And gaze on HIM, unſeen by all.

His folded arms, his ſtudious brow,
His thoughtful eye, unmark'd, I ſee;
Nor could his voice or words beſtow
So dear, ſo true a joy on me.

But he forgets that I am near—
Fame, future fame, in thought he ſeeks.
To him ambition's paths appear,
And bright the ſun of ſcience breaks.

His heart with ardent hope is fill'd;
His proſpects full of beauty bloom:

But,

But, oh! *my* heart deſpair has chill'd,
My only proſpect is—the tomb!

One only boon from Heaven I claim,
And may it grant the fond deſire!
That I may live to hear his fame,
And in that throb of joy *expire.*'

'One little moment, ſhort as bleſt,
Compaſſion Love's ſoft ſemblance wore,
My meagre form he fondly preſs'd,
And on his beating boſom bore.

His frame with ſtrong emotion ſhook,
And kindneſs tun'd each falt'ring word;
While I, ſurpris'd, with anxious look
The meaning of his glance explor'd.

But ſoon my too experienc'd heart
Read nought but generous pity there;
I felt preſumptuous hope depart,
And all again was dark deſpair.

Yet ſtill, in memory ſtill, my heart
Lives o'er that fleeting bliſs again;
I feel his glance, his touch, impart
Emotion through each burſting vein.

And "*Once* (I cry) thoſe eyes ſo ſweet
"On me with fondneſs deign'd to ſhine;
"For once I felt his boſom beat
"Againſt the conſcious throbs of mine!"

Nor ſhall the dear remembrance die
While aught of life to me is given;
But ſooth my laſt convulſive ſigh,
And be, till then, my joy—my heaven!'

IV. p. 267. 68. 70. 71.

'The Uncle and Nephew' is amiable and well managed.—'The Death-Bed'—'The Robber'—and 'Murder will out,' are not very natural. 'The Faſhionable Wife' is ſtill worſe; and, though many of the particular ſcenes are well drawn, we cannot help withholding our ſympathy from diſtreſſes, deduced from a ſource ſo inadequate and fantaſtic. In the other tales, there is occaſionally ſomething frivolous, and ſomething too obvious and inartificial; but in all, there is much juſt repreſentation of manners and character, and much pleaſing compoſition.

We cannot place Mrs Opie ſo high in the ſcale of intellect as Miſs Edgeworth; nor are her Tales, though perfectly unobjectionable on the ſcore of morality, calculated to do ſo much good. They are too fine for common uſe; and do not aim at the correction

rection of errors and follies of ſo extenſive and fundamental a nature. She does not reaſon ſo powerfully; and ſhe is not ſufficiently cheerful: indeed ſhe is too pathetic, to be read with much advantage to practical morality. Her writings, however, are very amiable and very beautiful; and exhibit virtuous emotions under a very graceful aſpect. They would do very well to form a woman that a gentleman ſhould fall in love with; but can be of no great uſe in training ordinary mortals to ordinary duties.

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INDEX.

INDEX.

A

Academy, royal, unpromiſing condition of, 216.

Africa, inhabitants of, contrary to the example of every other country, more civilized in proportion to their diſtance from the coaſt, 439.

Alembert, M. d', account of, 355.

America, North, various unſucceſsful attempts to civilize the Indians of, 443—reply of one of them who had been queſtioned concerning the attachment of his countrymen to a ſavage life, 444—Quakers the only perſons who have attempted their civilization in a rational manner, 445.

Anatomy, definition of, as applied to the arts of deſign, 367.

Antique ſculpture and painting, remarks on, 367.

Arctopus echinatus, deſcription of, 69.

Auſtria, ſketch of her ſituation relative to France at the commencement of the late war, 192.

B

Barroloos, a numerous and civilized African tribe, 441.

Barrow's account of a journey in Africa, 432—motives of the expedition, ib.—character of the Dutch boors at the Cape, 433—ill ſucceſs of the miſſionaries among the Hottentots, 434—account of the Booſhuanas, 437.

Barry's, Dr, hiſtory of the Orkney Iſlands, 87—general view of the ſituation, ſoil, climate, &c. of theſe iſlands, ib.—geographical deſcription, 89—conjectures concerning their earlieſt inhabitants, 91—natural hiſtory, 102—population, 103—agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, 104—fiſheries, 106.

Beacon of Maracaïbo, a curious phenomenon, 381.

Bell's eſſays on the anatomy of painting,—a work of this kind hitherto much wanted, 365—the author's definition of anatomy as applied to the arts of deſign, 367—objections to the ſtudy of the antique, ib.—remarks on ſome of the peculiarities of the brutal and human phyſiognomy, 370—what the chief ingredient in human beauty, 372—of the viſible ſigns of the paſſions, 373—of the ſkin and veins, 376.

Bentley, Dr Richard, characteriſtical ſketches of, 109.

Black, Dr, diſcovers the exiſtence of latent heat, 139.

Boſjeſmans, an African tribe, wretched condition of, 435.

Britain,

Britain, means for increaſing her internal reſources, 135—propoſal for rendering her an entrepôt of grain, 136.
Britiſh iſlands, ſome particulars of the manners, manufactures, &c. of the inhabitants of, at the end of the fifth century, 241.

C

Canal between the North Sea and the Baltic, projected, 133.
Caracas. See *Dpons*.
Carpathian mountains, general obſervations on the nature of, 85.
Carron, iron works, account of, 251.
Carthaginians, great naval expedition undertaken by, at a very early period, 239.
Caſſiterides, tin trade of, at firſt engroſſed by the Phenicians, 239—ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the Scilly iſlands, 240.
Chriſtianity, hiſtorical view of, &c. 272.
Circles, druidical, ſuppoſed to have ſerved as aſtronomical obſervatories, as well as places of worſhip, 95—deſcription of a remarkable one in the iſland of Lewis, 96.
Citrus, fruit of ſpecies of, frequently repreſented in Chineſe drawings, 72.
Clerk, Mr, his claim to the merit of the diſcovery of the plan of breaking the enemy's line in naval engagements ſupported, 126.
Coal-pits, hint of a method of extinguiſhing fires in, 84.
Conſtantinople, what the cauſe of the great frequency of fires at, 38.
Creoles of Terra Firma, account of, 383.
Cromwell, great ſkill of, in forming troops, 306.
Cruſades, benefits that have been derived from them, 400.
Cumberland's, Mr, Memoirs, public expectation rather diſappointed in, 107—authors diſſuaded from writing the hiſtory of their own lives, 108—birth and parentage of Mr Cumberland, 109—is indebted for the moſt valuable part of his early education to his mother, 110—at twelve years of age compoſes a drama, 111—impreſſion made upon him by Garrick in the character of Lothario, ib.—is entered of Trinity College, Cambridge, 112—Specimen of the diſquiſitions introduced into the preſent volume, ib.—is appointed private ſecretary to Lord Halifax, 114—character of Bubb Doddington, 116—obtains the office of Crown agent for Nova Scotia, and marries, 118—character of the celebrated Single-ſpeech Hamilton, ib.—of George Faulkner, 119—the author is appointed ſecretary to the Board of Trade, 120—picture of a native Iriſh baron, 120—of the Iriſh character in humbler ſtation, 121—characters of Garrick and Soame Jenyns, 122—anecdote of Foote, 123—character of Goldſmith, ib.—of Dr Johnſon, 124—anecdote of Admiral Rodney, 226—the author goes on a private miſſion to the court of Spain, 127—retires to Tunbridge on the demolition of the Board of Trade, ib.
Cuſtom-houſe entries, real ſtate of commerce not to be inferred from, 246.
Cyclamen, Europæum, deſcription of, 71.

Dantzic,

D

Dantzic, method in which grain is conveyed to, 131—account of the warehouſes in which it is depoſited, 132.
Death, remarks on the repreſentation of, in painting, 374.
De Lille's tranſlation of Milton, 167—difficulties to be encountered in a French tranſlation of that work, 168—ſtyle of the author more congenial to that of Thomſon or Cowper, than of Milton, 169—extracts from compared with the original, 173.
Denmark, advantages ſhe has derived from the wars in which the reſt of Europe has been lately engaged, 133.
Depons's voyage to South America, 378—part of the country treated of hitherto little known, ib.—account of the author, and diviſion of his work 379—diſcovery and conqueſt of the eaſtern part of Terra Firma, and deſcription of the country, 380—population, manners, and cuſtoms, 382—Indian population, 387—Civil and military government, 388—Eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, 390—agriculture, 391—commerce, 392—finances, 395—topography, ib.—obſervations on the ſtate of the Spaniſh colonies, 397.
Dermody, Thomas. See *Raymond*.
Deſpair, deſcription of that paſſion, 375.
Deſſalines, extracts from his proclamation, after being choſen Governor-General of Hayti, 63.
Doddington, Bubb, (Lord Melcombe) account of the character and peculiarities of, 116.
Delignou, Mr Stephen, the inventor of a highly improved kind of weaving machinery, 245.
Druidical circles, form and uſes of, 95.
Dryanobalanops, miſtake of Dr Gaertner reſpecting, pointed out, 73.
Dryden, extract from his tranſlation of the Satires of Juvenal, 171.
Ducks, curious method of catching in the lake of Maracaïbo, 381.
Dutch boors at the Cape, character of, 433.
Dutens—Memoires d'un voyageur, &c. Account of the author, 345—ſuffers repeated diſappointments in his amours, ib.—viſits England, and returns again to his father's houſe, where he is ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, and is taught religion by his ſiſter, 346—reviſits England, and is engaged as a tutor to a young gentleman, 347—is obliged to quit his ſituation, from a deaf and dumb ſiſter of his pupil having conceived an inclination for him, 348—accompanies Mr Mackenzie Stewart to Turin, 349—anecdotes of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Kaunitz, ib.—is left chargé d'affaires at Turin, 350—anecdote of Sterne, 351—the author, from diſappointment, reſolves to enter upon a retired and philoſophic courſe of life, 353—but is enticed from his retreat, by hearing of Lord Mountſtuart's appointment to be Reſident at Turin, and accompanies his lordſhip thither, 354—account of D'Alembert, 355—the author's profound veneration for men of high rank, 356.

Earth,

E

Earth, new theory of, 333.
Edgeworth's Leonora, 206—ſtory of, 207—the author's remarks upon the modern female philoſophy, 208—effects of jealouſy deſcribed, 210.
Education, regular, unfavourable to vigour of underſtanding, 329.
Einar, Earl of Orkney, teaches his people the uſe of turf or peat for fuel, 98.
Expreſſion, the chief ingredient in human beauty, 372.
Eyre, Lord, a native Iriſh baron, character of, 120.

F

Fabius, his excellence as a general chiefly manifeſted in his tactics, 306.
Faulkner, George, character of, 119.
Fear, ſymptoms and viſible characters of, 375.
Fernay, once the ſeat of Voltaire, deſcribed, 260.
Foote, Mr, anecdote of, 123.
François, Cape, equality among the inhabitants of, in the ordinary intercourſe of ſociety, 58—review of black troops at, 59.
Franklin, Dr Benjamin, complete edition of the works of hitherto wanting, 327—obſervations on the genius, &c. of the author, 328—character of his phyſical writings, 331—extract concerning a new theory of the earth, 332—remarks on magnetiſm, 334—of the doctor's political writings, 335—correſpondence between him and Lord Howe, 336—character of his moral productions, &c. 340—extracts from his letters to Mr Whatley, 342.
Fulneck, a village in Yorkſhire, inhabited entirely by Moravians, account of, 251.
Funeral of a Muſſulman, ceremonies obſerved at, 38.

G

Gaertner's, Dr, Carpologia, 65—This branch of their ſcience in general much neglected by botaniſts, ib.—remarks on ſome of the plants deſcribed in the preſent work, 68.
Gallery, national, for the reception of pictures to illuſtrate the exploits of Britiſh heroiſm, propoſed, 219.
Garrick, Mr, character of, 122.
Ghumbaragee Baſhee, office of, at Conſtantinople, filled by a Scotch gentleman of the name of Campbell, 38.
Giraldus de Barri, diſplays an early inclination for the church, 401—has a conteſt about the right of dedicating a church with the Biſhop of St Aſaph, 401—whom he excommunicates and defeats, 402—is ſent to preach up the cruſade in Wales, 403—attends Henry II. to France, and is honoured by Richard I. with the office of coadjutor to the Biſhop of Ely, regent of the kingdom, 404—his death and character, 405—his account of the abbey of Llanthoni, 407—character of the Welch, 410.
Glaſs, art of manufacturing ſuppoſed to have been known to the Britons before the Roman invaſion, 242.

Goldſmith,

Goldſmith, Mr, character of, 123—is relieved by Dr Johnſon from a ridiculous dilemma, 125.
Grain, manner in which it is conveyed to Dantzic, &c. 131—propoſal for making Britain an entrepôt of, 136.
Griffiths's Dr, Travels in Europe, Aſia Minor, and Arabia, 35—violent partiality of Engliſhmen for travelling, and devices fallen upon by ingenious men to attract the attention of the public towards their peregrinations, ib.—the author embarks at Graveſend for the Mediterranean, 37—lands at Nice, ib.—and at Temnos, where he witneſſes the funeral of a Muſſulman, 38—is introduced at Conſtantinople to the Ghumbaragee Baſhee, ib.—anecdote of a copy of the Koran preſented to the Sultan by General Morriſon, 39—remarks on the religion, &c. of the Turks, 40—account of the ſect of Wahabees, 41—view of the policy and preſent ſtate of the Turkiſh empire, 45—the author viſits the Troad, 48—and proceeds by Smyrna to Aleppo, 49—great hardſhips he underwent in his journey from thence to Baſſorah, 50—arrives ſafe at Bombay, 51.
Guagiros, a South American tribe, account of, 387.
Gunſhot wounds, particular ſymptoms attending, 373.

H

Haco, king of Norway, dies of a broken heart, in conſequence of his defeat at Largs, 101.
Hamilton, Single-ſpeech, character of, 118—ſuppoſed to have been the author of the "Letters of Junius," 119.
Hannibal, depended principally on the excellent diſcipline of his troops, 306.
Hanno the Carthaginian, voyage of diſcovery undertaken under, 240.
Harold Harfager, king of Norway, ſubdues the Hebrides, Orkneys, &c. 98.
Hatchett, Mr, on Tannin, 73—artificial production of a ſubſtance reſembling tannin, invented by the author, 74—only property in which it ſeems to differ from it, 75—different methods of producing it, 76—ſingular properties of it, 77.
Heat, latent, exiſtence of, diſcovered by Dr Black, 139—explication of the phenomena of, ib.
Hecla, Mount, aſhes thrown out by, carried as far as the Orkneys, 89.
Hidropityon Zeylanicum, deſcription of, 71.
Himilco ſuppoſed to have eſtabliſhed the firſt commercial intercourſe between Britain and Carthage, 239.
Hirlas, or the Drinking Horn of Owen, tranſlation from, 412.
Hoare's Tranſlation of Giraldus Cambrenſis, 399—account of the author, 401—extracts, 407.
Hoy, old man of, a ſtupendous pyramidal rock in Orkney, 88.
Hoy, dwarfie ſtone of, 91.

I

Jaraguay, extract from his tranſlation of Taſſo's Aminta, 169.
Ice, and water, experiment made to determine the reſpective capacities of, for heat, 141.

Jealouſy, feelings of, deſcribed, 210.
Jenyns, Soame, character of, 124.
Indian population in Spaniſh America, account of, 387.
Inquiry into the State of the nation, intention of, and ſubjects treated in, 190—cauſes of the late diſaſters on the continent, 191—view of the effects produced on the ſtate of Europe by the late diſaſtrous campaign, 198.
Johnſon, Dr, character of, 124.
Journal des Mines, 78—account of the origin of this periodical publication, 79—remarks on ſome of the papers contained in, 82.
Ireland, conduct of the Engliſh towards, formerly both fooliſh and oppreſſive, 313.
Iriſh character, traits of, in high and low life, 120.
Irvine's, Dr, Chemical Eſſays, 138—explication of the phenomena of latent heat, 141.
Italians, manners, &c. of, about the middle of the 13th century, 243.

K

Kaunitz, Prince, anecdote of, 349.
Kerné, an iſland on the coaſt of Africa, colony ſettled on by Hanno the Carthaginian, 240—conjectures concerning the ſituation of, ib.
Kirkwall, the capital of the Orkneys, deſcription of, 90.
Kora country in Africa, ill ſucceſs of the miſſionaries in, 434.
Koran, anecdote of a copy of, 39.

L

Largs, battle of, gained by Alexander III. of Scotland, 100.
Leather boats uſed by the inhabitants of Britain at an early period, 243.
Leetakoo, the capital of the Booſhuanas, deſcribed, 437.
Lemaiſtre's travels, character of, 254—the author's remarks on the death of the late Queen of France, 257—account of Fernay, once the ſeat of Voltaire, 258—ſketch of Switzerland and its inhabitants, 261—deſcription of Pompeii, 266—of a young lady taking the veil, 268.
Leonora. See Edgeworth.
Leſſing's Nathan the Wiſe, a ſpecimen of the true German taſte, 148—ſtory of, 149—what the intended moral of, 150—extracts from, 151.
Levies, new, danger of conjoining them in any great proportion with regular troops, 304.
Lewis, deſcription of a remarkable druidical circle on the banks of Loch Roag, in the iſland of, 96—and of one of thoſe ancient buildings, called Picts-houſes, in the pariſh of Lochs, 97.
Line of battle, occaſion upon which Lord Rodney firſt declared his intention of adopting the plan of breaking, 126.
Linnæus, cured of the gout by eating ſtrawberries, 425.
Liſt, quarterly, of new publications, 223, 472.
Llanthoni, account of the abbey of, from Giraldus Cambrenſis, 407.
Lubec, at preſent a place of great commercial importance, 133.

M

Macdiarmid's inquiry into the ſyſtem of national defence, 291—author's

thor's deſign in, &c. 292—expoſition of his plan of defence, 293—view of the ſubjects diſcuſſed, with remarks, 295—obſervations on the different kinds of military force, 302.

Macpherſon's annals of commerce, 237—account of a great naval expedition undertaken by the Carthaginians at an early period, 239—ſome particulars of the manners, &c. of the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſlands beyond the limits of the Roman conqueſts, 241—of the Italians in the thirteenth century, 243—devices employed by the Norwegian navigators before the invention of the mariners' compaſs, 244—account of the invention of weaving machinery in Britain, 245—arguments, arrangements, &c. founded upon the cuſtomhouſe entries, ſhown to be fallacious, 247—account of Carron iron-works, 231—of Fulneck, a Moravian village in Yorkſhire, ib.—general character of the work, 252.

Madneſs, remarks on the external character of, 375.

Magnetiſm, obſervations on, 334.

Mahomet, happineſs promiſed by, to thoſe who die in battle againſt infidels, 301.

Maracaïbo, account of the lake of, 381.

Marlborough, duke of, his character as a general, 307—anecdote of, 349.

Maton's Pulteney's Linnæus—account of Dr Pulteney, 422—evidence of the authenticity of the Diary of Linnæus, 427—extracts from that curious piece of biography, 430.

Maurienne, ſtriking inſtance of the poverty of the forgemen at the iron mines in, 84.

Mawman's tour through Scotland, 284—dangerous conſequences which may enſue from ſuch inſtances of monopoly in literary buſineſs as the preſent, 285—the author's outſet, travelling companion, and ſpecimens of his occaſional remarks, 287—parallel between the courſe of the river Clyde and the life of man, 289.

Mecklenburg, dutchy of, from its fertility, called the Egypt of the north, 132.

Military force, in what the perfection of conſiſts, 302.

Moore's poems. Cauſe to which the author owes his celebrity, 456—inſidious aim and dangerous tendency of his works, 457—fair-ſex principally expoſed to the poiſon of ſuch performances, 458—high importance to ſociety of the purity of the female character, 459—extracts from the leſs exceptionable parts of the work, 461.

Moravian miſſionaries, prudent and uſeful conduct of, 436.

Morriſon, General, anecdote concerning a beautiful copy of the Koran preſented by him to the Grand Signior, 39.

Mythology, ancient, a ſyſtem of nature, concealed under the veil of allegory, 276.

N

Negro ſlavery, liſt of works relating to, examined in the Edinburgh Review, 52.

Northumberland,

Northumberland, M. Dutens's character of the Duke and Dutchess of, 353.
Norwegian navigators, expedient employed by, in their distant voyages, before the invention of the mariners compass, 244.
Nun, description of the ceremony of one taking the veil, 268.

O

Oddy's European Commerce, 128—Rapid commercial and political advancement of Russia, 129—account of the grain trade at Dantzic, 131—policy of Prussia unfavourable to commerce, 132—causes that impede the improvement of Sweden, 133—advantages derived by Denmark from the wars in which the other nations of Europe have been lately engaged, ib.—improvement of her resources, by the extension of the fisheries, and cultivation of timber, recommended to Britain, 135—proposal of rendering Britain an entrepôt of grain, 136.
Olaus Frigueſſon, king of Norway, assumes the character of a missionary, and compels the inhabitants of Orkney, &c. to embrace the Christian religion, 99.
Opie, Mr, national gallery for the reception of pictures illustrative of the exploits of British heroism, first proposed by, 219.
Opie, Mrs, character of her Simple Tales, 465—affecting passage from, 467—specimen of her poetry, 469.
Orkney, islands, situation, &c. of, 87—supposed to have been once joined to the mainland of Scotland, 88—soil and climate, ib.—Number of these islands, 89—conjectures concerning the etymology of their common name, and whence they first derived their inhabitants, 91—Proofs of their having been first peopled from the opposite shores of Caithness, 94—are conquered by Harold Harfager, king of Norway, 98—and compelled to adopt the Christian religion by Olaus Frigueſſon a succeſſor of that monarch, 99—are annexed to the crown of Scotland by James III., 101—mineralogy of, 102—animals found in, 103—comparative population in ancient and modern times, 104—agriculture, ib.—manufactures, 105—exports, fisheries, &c. 106.

P

Peat, charring of, when introduced into France, 83.
Pentland Frith, great rapidity of the tides in, 89.
Philoſophy, modern female, remarks on, 208.
Phyſiognomy, brutal and human, remarks on the peculiarities of, 370.
Picts, question who they were, solved, 92.
Picts'-houſes, remarkable ancient buildings so called, frequent in the Highlands, 96—Description of one near Kirkwall in Orkney, ib.—and of another in the island of Lewis, 97.
Pinkerton's Recollections of Paris, expectations raised by, 413—whence the work derives its only interest, 415.
Pleaſure, emotions of, accompanied by a degree of languor and relaxation, 373.

Poetry,

Poetical extracts from Leſſing's Nathan the Wiſe, 151—from Smyth's Engliſh lyrics, 155—from Dermody's poems, 160—from Taſſo's Aminta, 169—from Dryden's Juvenal, 171—from De Lille's tranſlation of Milton, 173—from Shee's Rhimes on Art, 220—from Fenton's tranſlation of the Hirlas, or Drinking-horn of Owen, 412—from Moore's Poems, 461—from Mrs Opie's Simple Tales, 469.

Pomona, the largeſt of the Orkney iſlands, deſcribed, 89.

Pompeii, deſcription of the ruins of, 267.

Pruſſia, maritime poſſeſſions of well adapted to trade, 131—policy of, unfavourable to commerce, 132.

Pulteney, Dr Richard, account of, 422.

Q

Quakers attempt the civilization of the North American Indians, 444—their rational manner of procedure, 445—ſucceſs with which their labours have been rewarded, 446—addreſs of, to the Seneca Indians, 447—reply of the latter, 448.

Quarterly liſt of new publications, See *Liſt*.

R

Rainsford's, Captain, account of the Black empire of Hayti, 52—method the author has taken to fill up his volume, 53—is forced into Fort Dauphin by ſtreſs of weather, and arreſted on ſuſpicion of being a ſpy, 55—is condemned to death by a court compoſed of twelve Black generals, ib.—his ſentence is reverſed by Touſſaint, and he is permitted to depart, 56—perfect equality in the ordinary intercourſe of ſociety at the Cape, 58—review of Black troops, 59—picture of domeſtic life among the negroes, 61.

Raymond's life of Thomas Dermody, 159—account of Dermody's parentage and premature accompliſhments, ib.—leaves his father's houſe, and goes to Dublin, 160, where he is patronized by ſeveral gentlemen in ſucceſſion, whoſe favour he uniformly forfeits by his profligacy and diſſipation, 161—is taken into the protection of the dowager counteſs of Moira, who is alſo compelled to diſmiſs him, 162—after having wearied out the indulgence of ſeveral other friends, at laſt enliſts in the army, and is promoted by Lord Moira to a lieutenancy in a waggon corps, 164—is put upon half-pay, on the reduction of the army, and ſoon relapſes into his accuſtomed debauchery, 164—Publiſhes a volume of poems, ib.—Characteriſtic anecdotes, of, 165—character of his poetry, 167.

Rios's Tables of Navigation, &c.—Great uſe of ſuch tables in mathematical ſcience, 451—Diſintereſtedneſs of the author in its publication, 455.

Rodney, Lord, anecdote of, 126.

Ruſſia, rapid improvement of, in commerce, &c. 129—principal ports where her trade is carried on, 130.

S

Salins, obſervations on the ſalt ſprings of, 83.

Scott, Sir William, expoſition of the rule of 1756 regarding neutral traders, by, 8.

Shee's Rhimes on Art, 213—what the author's deſign in, 214—a general diffuſion of taſte neceſſary to the ſucceſsful cultivation of the fine arts, 215—cauſes that have contributed to retard the improvement of our national taſte, 217—ſpecimens of the author's ſtyle of writing, 219.

Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, compelled to embrace the Chriſtian religion by Olaus Frigueſſon King of Norway, 99—is killed at the battle of Clontarf in Ireland, 100—ſtory of his death the groundwork of Mr Gray's celebrated ode of the 'Fatal Siſters,' ib.

Simooleh, a ſcorching wind in the deſert,—deleterious effects of, deſcribed, 50.

Sleep, natural poſture of, 377.

Smyth's Engliſh Lyrics, compendious eſtimate of the merits of, 154—extracts from, 155.

Sorrow, viſible ſigns of, in the countenance, 373.

Sterne, anecdote of, 351.

Stromneſs, in Orkney, deſcribed, 90.

Sutherland, county of, whence it derives its name, 93.

Suwarrow, to what his rapid conqueſt of the Poliſh inſurgents, &c. may be aſcribed, 306, 307.

Sweden, one great cauſe of the ſmall progreſs ſhe has made in the career of improvement, and principal exports of, 133—plan for opening a communication through that country between the North Sea and the Baltic, ib.

Switzerland, and its inhabitants, ſketch of, 261.

T

Tannin. See *Hatchett*.

Throckmorton, Sir John, on the Catholic queſtion, 311—laws excluding certain claſſes of men from political ſtations impolitic, &c. 311—conduct of England towards Ireland from the period of its conqueſt fooliſh and oppreſſive, 313—number of pariſhes, churches, &c. in that country, 316—account of the author of the preſent work, 318—miſchiefs apprehended by ſome from the removal of the Catholic reſtrictions, 319—obſervations on the oath of ſupremacy, 320—plan for removal of the jealouſies between the two ſects, Proteſtants and Papiſts, 324.

Tonningen, port of, at preſent a place of great importance, 133.

Travelling, great partiality of Engliſhmen for, and devices practiſed by ſome to attract the attention of the public, 35—what the nature of the information that can render travels truly intereſting, 36.

Turenne, Marſhall de, chiefly remarkable for his tactical ſkill, 306.

Turks, funeral ceremonies among, 38—remarks on their religious opinions, 40—view of their ſyſtem of policy. According to their law, the wealth of every individual ought, at his death, to revert to the Sultan, 47—uſual means of evading that law, 48.

U

Viſhney, Volotoſhock, number of veſſels that paſſed the canal of, (which joins the Neva and Wolga) at two different periods, compared, 129.
Univerſe, perhaps, has a magnetical north and ſouth as well as the earth, 334.
Volunteer force of Great Britain, remarks on the utility, &c. of, 309.

W

Wahab, Abdul, begins to promulgate a new creed in Arabia, 41—boldly proclaims himſelf the reformer of abuſes, and ſeizes Mecca, 42—great alarm excited at the Porte by his ſucceſſes, ib.—Holy city is retaken by the Turks, and Abdul himſelf aſſaſſinated, 43—his death ſaid to have been revenged, and his place ſupplied by his ſon, ib.—Peculiar doctrines of the ſect, 44.
Wales, ſimilarity of many cuſtoms in, to thoſe of Scotland, 409.
War, in Diſguiſe, &c. character and object of, 1—origin and progreſs of the neutral ſyſtem, ib.—conſequences to the neutral traders, and miſchiefs ariſing to Britain from the relaxation of the rule of the war 1756, 3—enormous extent of the factitious neutral trade at preſent compared with what it was at any former period, 5—remedy propoſed by the author againſt the evaſions of the neutral powers, 7—expoſition of the rights of neutral nations with regard to trade, 8—queſtion of right examined, 11—hardſhips and inconveniences of war much alleviated by the humane policy of modern times, 13—practice of maritime capture inconſiſtent with that policy, 14—inquiry whether the ſeizure of neutral veſſels, trading to colonies of the enemy that were not open to them in time of peace, be juſtifiable, 16.
Water-mills, introduced into Britain by the Romans, 242.
William III., his character as a general, 306.
Woronzow, Count, publicly diſavows ſome eulogiums beſtowed upon him, 356.

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